A SEASON'S WORK AT UR

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A SEASON'S WORK AT UR

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

THE CIVILIZATION OF GREECE IN THE BRONZE AGE

FIGURE OF KUR-LIL (?): AL-ʿUBAID
British Museum

A SEASON'S WORK AT UR

AL-'UBAID, ABU SHAHRAIN (ERIDU), AND ELSEWHERE

BEING AN UNOFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF
THE BRITISH MUSEUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION
TO BABYLONIA, 1919

BY

H. R. HALL, D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

KEEPER OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 277 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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IN MEMORY
OF
LEONARD WILLIAM KING
1919

PREFACE

THIS book describes, unofficially, my archaeological mission to 'Iraq in 1919. My work included the opening of the new excavations of the British Museum at Ur of the Chaldees, the discovery at al-'Ubaid of important relics of early Sumerian art now at the British Museum, the further exploration of Abu Shahrain, the ancient Eridu, and the doing of sundry pieces of archaeological work for the 'Iraq Government and reporting to it on the existing and future organization of archaeology in that country.

The British Museum has always had a special connexion with Mesopotamian archaeology from the days of Rawlinson and Layard; and when by the fortune of war Mesopotamia fell into British hands, the opportunity for the Museum to re-enter its old field of work—an opportunity denied many years past for political reasons—was naturally taken. On the receipt of certain reports from Mesopotamia, the Trustees of the British Museum applied to the military authorities for leave to attach an archaeologist to the Army in the field, with a view primarily to the protection of the antiquities from unnecessary injury, and secondarily to the taking of such opportunities as might present themselves for excavation. Permission was readily given, and Captain R. Campbell Thompson, of the Intelligence Service, himself formerly an assistant in the British Museum and an Assyriologist of the first rank, and then fortunately on duty in Mesopotamia, was commissioned to start the work. He, after a short investigation of Ur, decided to dig at Shahrain, where in 1918 he carried out a trial excavation, consisting chiefly of pits sunk to ascertain the stratification of the mounds, which was of considerable importance, and has been published fully by him in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXX (1921). He also investigated other mounds in the vicinity, as Tell al-Laḥm.

His decision to open work in the district of Ur was due to the cir-

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cumstances of the moment. The Army had not yet finally defeated the Turks and taken Mosul, so that no resumption was possible of the Museum's old and famous excavations at Nineveh, in which he had himself taken part fifteen years before. Therefore Babylonia was the only possible field. Prof. Leonard King, then Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, greatly desired to see Warka (Erech), Senkereh (Larsam) or Yōkha (Umma) excavated: both at Warka and Senkereh British archaeology had pioneered the way, in the work of Loftus. But these three places were barred by the fact that they were not only outside 'the protected zone' of the Army, but were also liable to attack from the then very restless and turbulent marsh tribes of the Muntafiq: the whole region between the two rivers was unsafe, and an 'incident' was undesirable. Captain Thompson was therefore obliged to select Ur and its district for his work: a fortunate choice, as the subsequent work of Mr. Woolley has proved. Ur was safe and close to the military centre of Naṣirīyyah and the new railway just completed from Baṣrah. And Abu Shahrain, where Captain Thompson had always wished to dig, was, although not technically 'protected' (indeed distinctly 'out in the blue'), not liable to Muntafiq attack, and the desert tribes could be made friends with.

So he dug at Shahrain, and when in the next year, owing to illness preventing Prof. King from going himself to the scene, I was sent by the Trustees to take Captain Thompson's place on his return on leave to England, I naturally took up his spade where he had left it. The same conditions existed, more or less, and although the land between the river was more peaceful, yet it was not absolutely safe for a scientific expedition to work there: also the advantages of Ur were so great in the shape of the railway and easy transport and its proximity to a large town like Naṣirīyyah that I had no doubt as to where I was to go. Also, we should be carrying on another British Museum tradition. For at the time of the Crimean War the Trustees had dug at Ur, employing the British Vice-Consul at Baṣrah, Mr. J. E. Taylor, to carry out the work. So I dug at Ur for three months, and the story of that excavation and the subsidiary work at Shahrain and at al-'Ubaid (more important at al-'Ubaid than at Ur) will be found told in this book. The results are to be seen in the British Museum.

My excavations for the British Museum occupied the latter part of my stay in 'Iraq. At first, as will appear, I was employed on archaeological work for the Political Service, under whose supervision antiquities were placed. This involved a very interesting stay at Babylon, and visits to other sites, such as Nippur.

I reached Baṣrah at Christmastide, 1918, and left again at the end of May, 1919, travelling there and back as an officer of the Intelligence Service, in which at the time I was a captain. I was demobilized later, but was ordered as now an officer attached to the Political Service to continue in uniform in any case, as was the rule for political officers. This was for good reasons, as then only the uniform carried authority.

I have in the main body of the book mentioned my indebtedness to many officers of the Political Service and the Army for their help in 'Iraq, more especially to Sir Arnold Wilson (then Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wilson), acting Chief Civil Commissioner, my temporary chief, and to Major-General Sir George MacMunn, Commander-in-Chief; without their assistance I should never have been able to carry out my excavation work or bring the antiquities found back to England. I wish here to record my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for their permission to publish this book, to quote at length from my official publication of al-'Ubaid, and illustrate it with many official photographs beside my own; and I take this opportunity of thanking the Director, Sir Frederic Kenyon, the inceptor and organizer of the excavations at Ur, for his constant interest and help in the course of my work and afterwards. I have to thank also Sir Ernest Budge for his unfailing interest and encouragement, and for the original suggestion that I should write this book. To the Society of Antiquaries, the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the Royal Asiatic Society I tender my thanks for their permission to quote from my previous articles and for the loan of blocks of former illustrations in their publications. The photographs, with the exception of some of those of objects discovered, and a few others acknowledged in the list, are my own.

Sir Frederic Kenyon has been kind enough to read this preface, the end of Chapter IX, and the whole of Chapter VIII ('al-'Ubaid') in manuscript; Mr. Woolley has read that part of Chapter III ('Ur of the Chaldees') which describes his work (pp. 109–120); Mr. Sidney Smith

has read the whole of that chapter; while Sir Arnold Wilson and Mr. J. M. Wilson have both seen such passages of the book as refer to their own work and their help to us. Mr. Wilson has also favoured me with an account of his conservation work at Babylon and Ctesiphon, which I have embodied in Chapter II. Mr. C. J. Gadd has read the whole proof, and has made several suggestions, for which I am indebted to him. And Mr. R. C. Thompson and Mr. Gadd have kindly allowed me to quote from their published work *in extenso*. Finally, I am indebted to Sir Denison Ross for information as to a Persian inscription at Delhi; to Mr. E. Edwards, of the British Museum, for the literal rendering of the quatrain of Omar Khayyām quoted on p. 42; and to Lieut.-Colonel C. de J. Luxmoore for several notes of dates and persons.

In transliterating Arab names I have normally used the Royal Asiatic Society's system, but purposely have not been completely consistent, where it seemed rather pedantic or less convenient to be so: thus I have usually rendered ق by Q, but sometimes by Ḳ when Q might be mispronounced. The vowels are of course to be pronounced in the international, not the English, manner: *ā* is as *a* in *father* or in *ball*, not *fate*; *ē* as *e* in *eh*, not as in *meet*; *ī* as *i* in *machine*, not *mite*; *ū* as *oo* in *boot*, not like '*yoo*' as in *useful*; and so on. I should add that if any are scandalized by any divergence in place-name spellings between the text and the maps (*e.g.* Fig. 63), it should be explained that the lettering of some of the plans was decided in 1919 or earlier, and not necessarily according to the R.A.S. system of transliteration. It need only be remembered that the *ai* of this system is *ei*, *ey* or *ê* in other systems, that *al* is often *el*, and so on—differences of no moment to those acquainted with the writing of Semitic tongues, but apt to be a stumbling-block to those who are not.

H. R. HALL.

British Museum,
March 21, 1930.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. Journ. = Antiquaries' Journal, London.

Bull. Met. Mus. N.Y. = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Encycl. Brit. = Encyclopædia Britannica.

J.E.A.
Journ. Eg. Arch. } Journal of Egyptian Archæology, London.

J.R.A.S.
Journ. R. Asiat. Soc. } Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Proc. Soc. Ant. = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, London.

R. Anthrop. Inst. = Royal Anthropological Institute, London.

Rec. de Trav. = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris.

A SEASON'S WORK AT UR

AL-'UBAID, ABU SHAHRAIN (ERIDU), AND ELSEWHERE

CHAPTER I

FROM LONDON TO BABYLON VIÂ BOMBAY AND BAGHDAD

A CAPTAIN in the Army travelling in war-time cannot be allowed much kit. There are too many of him, and means of transport are restricted. Also he is not usually expected to be an archaeologist as well, with archaeological as well as military truck to carry. In fact, he is not supposed to take with him much more than he can personally 'hike' on his back and with his own hands. So that my personal belongings had to be cut down to a minimum, at any rate until I was at sea or had reached Egypt or India, where my necessaries could be discreetly increased. Still, even so, rather more than the kit of a captain going back to France had to be taken from England, including, naturally, certain necessary and heavy books. Accordingly I joined my troop-train at Waterloo (after a hectic last-minute search on a bicycle for a promised but nearly-defaulting taxi) at 8.30 a.m. on 6 November, 1918, with a cabin-trunk, my regulation military kit-bag and a civilian handled kit-bag on which was painted my name and 'unit' as 'Captain H. R. Hall, British Museum' (a 'unit' destined to puzzle R.T.O.'s and camp-officers all the way from London to Baghdad); two hand-cameras and a very German-looking rücksack, regarded with great suspicion in France, and probably considered by fellow-soldiers to be spoil of the enemy, whereas it was in reality but a trophy of many happy days tramping in the Vosges or the Böhmerwald with German friends before the War. On arrival at Cherbourg, and when paraded before the British military officials for assignment to camp,

it appeared that nobody under the rank of a field-officer was allowed to stay in the town, and that mere captains must tramp regimentally in a body, carrying their own baggage, three miles out to a rest-camp. But, though my heavier things went on independently, it was impossible for me to carry my smaller kit (exiguous though it was for my purpose) three miles, keeping step with boys of twenty with nothing on their backs but a valise, so I remained *planté-là* until the authorities, after some puzzled discussion, had to allow me to join the field-officers at an hotel, whither I drove off in a *fiacre* with a couple of colonels amid the stares of my hierarchical equals who had obediently formed up for their footslogging tramp. Another *fiacre* took me next morning, in company with a major, to the *gare*, where I found my place in the troop-train, in company with two subalterns—helpful boys both, with no desire to play cards. I am always grateful to those who will kindly permit me to be unable to play cards. Boswell reports Dr. Johnson as saying: 'I am sorry I have not learnt to play at cards: it is very useful in life, it generates kindness, and consolidates society.' I am afraid that my play never generated kindness: certainly not in the heart of my partner!

1.—OUR TRAVELLING HOME ON ARMISTICE DAY

Our carriage was an ancient and dilapidated F.S. (Italian) four-wheeler, with its windows smashed, of course: but that would not matter south of the Alps. We jogged out of Cherbourg, and jogged on, day in day out, across France by way of Bayeux, Vierzon, and Bourges to Lyon. Just short of Tours we stopped for awhile at a wayside station where an energetic American volunteer military engineer was laying down a second track with a squad of Virginian negro privates. He seized the opportunity of saying his piece (good man, he was as keen as mustard!), raked us all into the *Salle d'attente* and with a 'Say, gents!' gave us a lightning lecture on his methods of track-laying. We listened politely, while the

French railway-officials stared uncomprehendingly. At Tours there was a hitch. The French *chef-de-gare* found no means of permitting our train to proceed south, for some reason which after two or three hours' wait appeared to the officer commanding our train to be insufficient. He decided therefore (as we had no authority in that part of France) to appeal to the American officer in charge of the station (Tours was in the American zone), and I, constituted some sort of temporary *liaison*-officer on account of my speaking French, after wasting my breath in arguments with the rather irritable *chef*, was sent to invoke the aid of the Stars and Stripes. It was given: 'Say, Captain ——, go with Captain Hall and just tell that sheffdigah from me that the British train will pull out inside the next ten minutes!' It did, after what violent alteration of schedule and derangement of signalling arrangements I know not. At Vierzon we were taken on by an American Army engine driven by an American engineer, who opened his regulator and pulled out with such violence (*more Americano*) that several ancient Italian couplings broke incontinently, and piles of kit-bags descended from the racks upon the heads of the occupants of the train, one or two of whom were slightly damaged in consequence. The good Yankee driver was much puzzled by the incomprehensible occurrence, which he put down to those blamed Eurōpean couplings, which couldn't stand the least bit of a jerk. Anyhow we eventually jogged on again past Bourges and Paray-le-Monial to Lyon, where we arrived on the 11th to hear the news of the Armistice.

From Lyon we pulled out again to an accompaniment of frantic cheers and waving of flags, which accompanied us all through Savoy and northern Italy. The night spent in crossing the Alps *viâ* Modane and the Mont Cenis Tunnel was abominably cold in the old Italian carriage with its broken windows open to the winds, but in the morning we were greeted by the sun of Italy, and as we lumbered down from Oulx to Susa I awoke my two sleeping companions to their first sight of the great peaks, soaring aloft through cloud-wrack to the eternal snows. At Asti much 'spumante' was drunk to the healths of the Bersaglieri recruits who flocked round the train to shake hands and cry 'Evviva Vittoria.' At Faenza, however, where there was a night's halt at the British rest-camp, we did not seem to be so popular. Well-meant attempts on the part of British officers to ask for something at a *farmacia* in Italian were greeted with obviously

rudely-intended laughter, not mere good-natured amusement at all, which after the comradeship of Vittorio Veneto was sad. And I did not like the tone of the town. Scrawls of W Lenin! (evviva Lenin!) decorated walls near our camp, and of course A (abbasso) all sorts of people and things including, I think, l'Inghilterra. However, Fascismo has, no doubt, long since removed from the walls of Faenza any praise of the Russian pseudo-Messiah, and it is idle to pretend that all of our officers and men were popular with either French or Italians. Once, I was told by an ear-witness at Faenza, an English subaltern slapped an Italian *confrère* on the back, and told him with the greatest good-nature in the world how glad he was to come and help 'the brave *spaghetti*-boys!' That Italian's demeanour is said to have been a marvel of politeness, but he didn't like it. Continentals, with their greater sense of personal importance, often do not understand, as we do, that British and American *gaffes* of this kind are made without the least intention of offence, but merely in expectation of an equally good-humoured guffaw or jape in return. At Taranto, where the rest-camp still existed on my way back in July 1919, I was seriously asked then by a British bâtman why we *had annexed* such a place as Taranto; he and his pals did not think much of it, but he supposed the Navy wanted it! I explained, but seemingly he could not grasp the situation, and the necessity of keeping camps on for demobilized and repatriated troops from the East, after the signature of peace; and, if he could not, no doubt many thousands of lower-class Italians could not either. *Then* one did not go down into the town, whereas eight months before, when I had passed through, everybody was perfectly friendly, and I ordered my coffee and glass of 'Grappa' at a café table as if I were a tourist on a holiday.

The big Orient transport from Taranto to Port Said was guarded by two Japanese destroyers, as there might still be lawless submarines about, in spite of the Armistice, and our zigzag wake was one that would in peace-time have turned the captain's hair grey, but nothing happened. It was odd in Egypt to be treated as a sort of infant, who could not possibly know anything about the country he was in and so must not be allowed to run about by himself. But I managed by judicious representations to rather astonished, but reasonable, seniors, to get away to Cairo, where I consulted with Hogarth (then Lieut.-Commander R.N.R.), Woolley (then a red-tab

captain, just back from Kastamuni), and Quibell of the Museum, with regard to the prospects of my mission. And then off again by the B.I.S.S. *Chakdarra* to Bombay, the pleasantest part of my whole journey, owing to the personal kindness and interest of Major-General Sir W. Caley, who was on board. He made me lecture more than once on Mesopotamian antiquities to the assembled company, and then for the first time I realized how deeply many of the officers serving in Mesopotamia had, in spite of the military miseries of the country, been bitten by the interest of its antiquities; and many were the rash promises I made to expound Babylon and Ur on the spot to all and sundry! I was much astonished by a request from some native Indian officers to tell them about the racial relationship of the Babylonians with the Indians, which somehow they had heard I had maintained in my book *The Ancient History of the Near East*, published before the War. I had done so (*loc. cit.*, p. 173), but to be confronted with the result in the shape of earnest Indian inquiries was unexpected in the midst of war. However, they were going to 'Iraq too, and they wanted to know more. I never thought then that my suggestion would be confirmed, years later, by Sir John Marshall's discoveries at Harappà and Mohenjo Daro in India.[1]

On *Chakdarra* I got the first whiff of India, not merely in the matter of excellent curries but in the shape of an extraordinarily weird but most charming old barber, who appeared next morning to operate on 'master' and would take no denial. I felt that in desiring to shave myself as usual I was being extremely gauche and ill-mannered: I was doing before an ancient family retainer something that simply isn't done. So, unlike Lovel with old Caxon in *The Antiquary*, I succumbed to this fascinating old person, with his beautiful double white beard, his embroidered skull-cap, his ancient but highly efficient English instruments of the 'fifties, and his antique essences which smelt like the pomades and so forth that I remember in my boyhood, but are never smelt in modern England. He was typical of India, with her ancient, beautiful, but weird civilization, and her English veneer which often seems about thirty years behind the England of to-day: a little like Ireland, this.

At Bombay—the Apollo Bunder—as yet without its great triumphal arch—the great array of fine buildings, the University and the rest on the

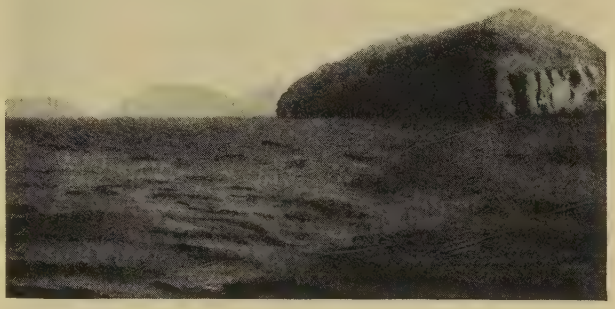
[1] See V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, pp. 200, 211.

front; the poor little Strawberry Hill Gothic cathedral (why Gothic in India?); that almost comic architectural monstrosity, the Victoria Terminus of the G.I.P.; the imposing new General Post Office and Art Gallery; British suburban railway stations, bridges and signals, cheek by jowl with Hindu Temples all (then) patriotically flying the Union Jack as a counter-blast to Muslim worries about the *Khilafat* and the 'poor dear Turks', who cared little indeed for the sympathy of their 'fellow-Muslims'. Then the strange Gujarati script side by side with English and the Arabic writing of Urdu; native scribes writing letters in the street for their clients, and snake-charmers performing on the sidewalk; a visit to the Towers of Silence on Malabar Hill, where the white-tiara'd Zoroastrian priest expounded his view that being devoured by vultures was the most sanitary manner possible of disposing of one's dead body; a procession of a Hindu god from his temple to undergo his yearly bath in the sea, much to the contempt of my befezzed Muslim cabman (*Būt-parāst!*); the strange spectacle of almost naked wild-haired fisherfolk in the Byculla Museum chattering volubly before cases containing models of themselves and their dwellings, and labelled brass specimens of the gods they actually worshipped; the sombre sculptured ancient deities of Elephanta—much of this was a new East to me. In spite of the fact that one knew it all beforehand as an Englishman would to whom India in picture and by hearsay was familiar from childhood, who had played with brass Krishnas and had broken gilt alabaster Ganesas and Sivas and Vishnus (with dire corporeal results) before he donned knickerbockers, it was strange to me to realize the fact of the actual worship of Ganesa and Siva and Vishnu in their own land in the temples of their cults at Bombay, as strange as if I were to find Horus and Hathor

2.—A BOMBAY STREET

still venerated in some Egyptian temple such as Edfu or Denderah. Egypt and her gods and priests all alive, mixed up with London; with the Docks, St. Pancras Station, Dulwich College, the Green Park, and the Elephant and Castle: that was the impression I gained of Bombay. There was no doubt of the specifically English (not merely European) impression, and the combination is extraordinary. I felt I loved better Egypt, where the old gods are safely dead and their lore can be studied by such as I without impossible modern contaminations and antinomies, where the muezzin now calls uncontradicted the simple praises of the One, where the clean desert air breathes health, not septic soddenness, and where one is not likely nowadays to find an uraeus-cobra in one's bed.

And to Mesopotamia I turned as to another Egypt. To sea again, leaving the exotic jungle-clad mountains of India behind, and then past the weird and terrible hills of Arabia at Cape Musandam, gleaming with many colours like the skin of some venomous reptile, and as arid and inhuman, into the Gulf. Then, the sizzling heat of the Gulf, the halt under a brazen sun on the lapis-blue sea at Bushire, behind which distant mountains hid beautiful Shiraz, that probably I should never see. *Khushá tafárraj-i-Naurúz, khássé dar Shiráz*, 'Pleasant is the New Year's outing, specially in Shirāz.' But not for me, this Frangī New Year, at any rate. Still, I was coming back to an East I knew: the East of the Muslimīn. And the desert-blink behind Bushire seemed more homely than the green hills of Hind.



3.—OFF RAS MUSANDAM

Then, rolling off the bar of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, waiting for the pilot, in a turbid grey sea and under lowering clouds: a change indeed. The fort at Fao, the interminable palm-fringed banks of the river, a sudden drop in temperature—how many degrees I cannot remember—to 45° Fahrenheit;

which meant routing out one's overcoat—and a dull sunless sky. At Baṣrah one's first introduction to 'Mespot' mud, though nothing to what it was later at Baghdad, was sufficiently surprising. At night there was slight frost (December), which made the mud seem worse, since the surface was deceptively firm till you squashed through it. And the first thing necessary in 'Mespot' that I bought was a pair of rubber waders (reminiscent of Norway!), an absolute necessity in winter. For the slight frost at night was accompanied by pouring rain by day, and just at Christmas actual icicles hung from the eaves of the army huts for an early hour or two. This was a change from Bombay and the Gulf! Then followed a week of unavoidable misery at the hideous brick Konak or Political Offices, living with a bad cold in a room with a leaking roof, and paddling out into the rain and mud to examine boxes of antiquities in the court. A quaint translation of the *Gulistan* of Sa'di consoled me in the evenings as I read by the light of a 'balti' or smoky tin kerosene lamp, while the rain dripped through the roof into my bath. I smiled again at the tale of the Crow and the Parrot, who were shut up together in the same cage, whereat the Parrot, distressed at the other's ugly appearance, was saying: 'What is this detestable countenance, this odious form, this cursed object with unpolished manners? O Crow of the desert, would to God we were as far asunder as the East is from the West!' While the Crow, equally distressed by the society of the Parrot, lamented his fate, and, rubbing the claws of sorrow one against the other, was saying: 'What ill-luck! a dignified person like me should be strutting on a wall in company with another crow. It is too much that a holy man should be compelled to associate with profligates! How have I sinned, that I should be punished by spending my life with such a worthless conceited prattler!' To which replied the Parrot: 'Nobody would approach

4.—FAO: THE SHAṬṬ AL-'ARAB

a wall on which your picture is painted. If you were in Paradise, everybody would prefer Hell to your company.' So might a Wahaby mullah, or even one of his own mujtahids, enjoy the company of a Persian mirza. 'However much,' says Sa'di, 'the instructed may despise the frivolous and ignorant, these are a hundred times more distressed in the company of the wise.' And many another cheerful tale of dervishes and travellers, wazīrs and kings, made me forget rain, cold, and horrid food.

We did our best at the Political Offices, but the place was not watertight. Still, after all, it was war-time, and all in the day's work. And the hospitality of Major Meek, the Political Officer, at his own house, the Beit Kokkus (Sir P. Z. Cox's), especially at Christmastide, atoned for all shortcomings.

5.—ENTRANCE TO THE KONAK, BAṢRAH

My transference to the Politicals had taken place. I had seen the Chief Civil Commissioner, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Wilson (now Sir Arnold), who had momentarily swooped down on Baṣrah on one of his aeroplane inspection-flights about the country, and had arranged with him the work of my mission. It would be impossible to dig at the moment anywhere, on account of rain, and absence of arrangements for workmen, but that I should do later; in the meantime I was first to examine and report on the boxes containing captured German antiquities from Sāmárrā, then to go to Baghdad, give any help I could in archaeological matters to the authorities there, and inspect Ctesiphon, Birs Nimrūd, and above all Babylon, where the museum of the German excavators needed looking after. Accordingly the week was occupied in opening, examining, and noting the contents of the German Sāmárrā boxes, then piled up in a shanty in the court of the Political Offices —which contained treasures of 'Abbāsid decorative art, wall-paintings, plaster decorations, and woodwork of 'Abbāsid times,[1] besides prehistoric

[1] See Miss Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 231 ff.

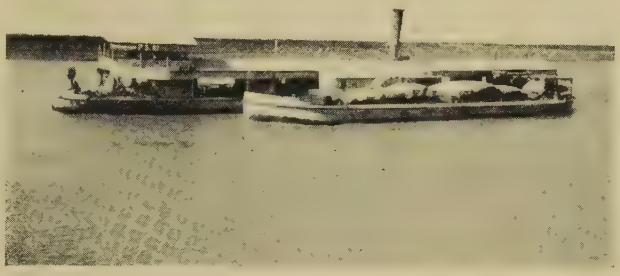
pottery, excavated by Messrs. Herzfeld and Sarre—and closing them again with the help of a proud and obstinate Sikh carpenter and half-a-dozen willing Persian coolies, men and boys, in blue kaftan and with black *kolah* on head, the men with their beards and the boys with their bobbed hair dyed red with henna, for fantasy.

I directed them in Arabic, my Urdu and Persian, especially the former, being weak. I departed finally on the night of 31 December, 1918, from Baṣrah by river-steamer from Baghdad. The boat's officers, of the Inland Water Transport, were Scottish; the night was Hogmanay; so we had a cheerful run up to Ḳūrnah. The extraordinary twists and twirls of the Tigris between Ḳūrnah and bright blue Ezra's Tomb were negotiated by the I.W.T. and the native *rais* next day with consummate skill, and the regular Tigris run-aground did not occur till we were well beyond 'Amārah. Of 'Amārah, where we tied up only for one night, I could see nothing. I should have liked to have made acquaintance with the strange colony of Sabaeans, silversmiths, and inlayers of silver or steel, all of them, who live there, a queer sect compounded of Magian, Zoroastrian, Christian, and Moslem, who exalt John the Baptist above Christ, may never live out of sight of running water, and are said to be baptized two or three times a week. But I had no time to find them, or even to acquire the regulation silver-inlaid steel cigarette-box as a memento of 'Amārah, and could only hope to make the acquaintance of their co-religionists at Sūq ash-Shuyūkh later on.

6.—A TIGRIS STEAMER: P54.

Next morning early we cast off, and then a day or so later the inevitable happened: we ran aground, and it was a whole day before we could get off. Ahead of us and behind us, in the same predicament, or blocked by the rest, were other steamers of the miscellaneous Tigris fleet of war-time; besides the new 'P' (paddle) boats, a few indigenous boats of Lynch, Nile-boats I had seen at Luxor, Indus-boats, Irrawaddy-boats Yangtse-

boats—even one or two of the old London 'Citizen' penny-steamers are said to have ended their days now in the service of their country in far 'Mespot'. A brand-new ambulance steamer with the red-cross blazoned on her side, and a 'fly' gunboat (probably *Mantis*), piled up in the rear. Finally, however, we and our companions in misfortune were free, and we steamed on, past es-Sinn and Aylmer's battlefields of 1916.



7.—A TIGRIS STEAMER WITH ATTENDANT BARGES

Not that much could be seen of them. South of Qála'at Ṣāliḥ one sees a certain picturesqueness of reedy marshes, with in various directions columns of smoke which come from the smoke-stacks of steamers, and from their scatteredness shew us how amazingly the river here loops and twirls about in all directions. But north of 'Amārah the Tigris is surely the most depressing river in the world from the point of view of the voyager thereon! Day after day one steams on between monotonous drab banks of height just sufficient to prevent one seeing over them. Nothing is visible but these banks and the sky, with an occasional water-wheel or some villainously dirty Arab leading a gaping camel, until one comes to a stop at some bankside halt, such as Ali Gharbi or Shaikh Sa'ad, with its stereotyped look-out nests on the tops of poles, its troop-huts, its dirty pink tumble-down native shacks, their listless, shiftless

8.—AN AMBULANCE STEAMER ON THE TIGRIS

9.—'MESPOT' FROM THE TIGRIS

population, and its rather bored garrison, if there is one. Then the endless river-banks again. One has such dull banks often on the

10.—A LOOK-OUT POST ON THE TIGRIS: SENTRY IN CROW'S NEST

Nile, but here the life and cheeriness of the Nile are missing, and above all the wonderful desert-hills on either side, to which so much of the beauty of Egypt is due. There are no castellated cliffs, table-

lands, and peaks of red and yellow with deep purple shadows in the wadis and gullies; there is no incredible vision of colour on the hills at sunset as there is in beloved Egypt. The utmost that 'Mespot' can do in this line is a little something with clouds: which are rare in Upper Egypt. And the after-sunset silhouette effect may pass, though not so good as in Egypt. For nothing can be done with cliffs or hills; there are none. The distant vision of the snowy Pusht-i-Kuh far away on the right between 'Amārah and Shaikh Sa'ad is the only glimpse of a hill (and that, of course, is a great mountain) that one has from the Persian Gulf to Mōsul. But the Pusht-i-Kuh is not of Mesopotamia as the Egyptian Nile-cliffs

11.—BEFORE THE STORM: ON THE TIGRIS

are of Egypt: it is of Persia, and foreign. It does not really combine with or come into the landscape at all. So on we go, day after day, to the ceaseless accompaniment of the 'chug-chug' of the engines, while Old Man River ceaselessly presses on past us to his goal the sea.

Mesopotamian clouds in winter are often such as one never sees in Egypt: the sky is, in fact, a 'Europe sky', not an Eastern sky at all. The Eastern glamour somehow is not in it. One thing, however, 'Mespot' can do better than Egypt, or even Europe, and that is a winter rainstorm, with a deluge and a power of rain that Egypt never knew. The sky goes black and lowering, the air chill, and then, from one's chair on the bridge

of the steamer slowly and laboriously chugging its way upstream, one sees the black spears of the ancient god Adad advancing swiftly over the dead-white land, glaring dully in the unnatural light. Defiantly the storm-god stabs with his spears, and amid the roar of the rain, almost drowning the whistle of *rais* or *serang*, you dive to safety if you value a dry skin. The rain sweeps over river and steamer, thrashing the water with whips, while the decks rattle with the bombardment of leaping hail-stones. Then it passes: the 'chug-chug' of the boat again makes itself heard, the *rais* pipes his half-Indian, half-negro crew to pick up the pieces, if there are any, the black clouds with their army of spears sweep away towards Persia, leaving trailing behind them draggled tails of dirty-white, between which a washed-out blue sky glints palely. Then, the sky-haze rapidly disintegrating, with a flare of light Shamash the sun-god shews himself from behind the white edge of a cloud: the temperature mounts again twenty degrees at a bound: the glairy wetness of the decks (and of your deck-chair) disappears as if by magic. Shamash mounts; but it is winter, he is not in the zenith, and there are many clouds to veil his splendour; he cannot yet kill with his royal bolt. More than likely it will soon cloud over again, and though there may not be another storm, the dull grey sky and the dull grey land (which without sun is as if dead), and probably a cold wind, will drive you first to put on your Army greatcoat, or your 'British warm', and finally send you down to the stuffy cabin to get warm.

12.—MY SEAT ON THE LIGHTER

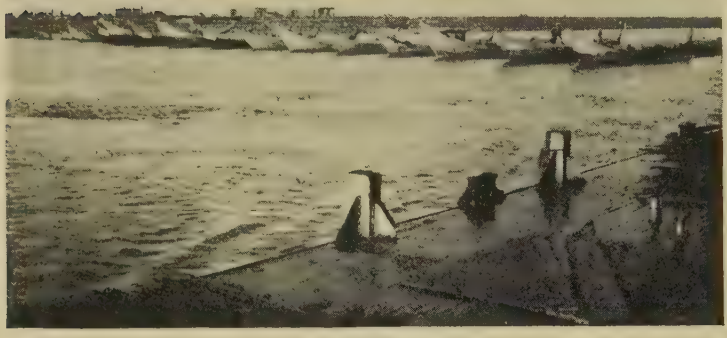
I said that one might perhaps be sitting on the bridge when the rainstorm came over. I, however, preferred usually to put my deck-chair out on to one of the wood-laden lighters that were lashed on both sides of our steamer; and I chose the side out of the wind, usually the left, as far as possible out of the way of those piercing blasts from the Persian

mountains. So we passed es-Sinn and drew near to Kūt al-'Amārah. One often hears the epithet-name of this place confused with the other 'Amārah, which cannot be helped, as they are spelt alike. We tied up for a night at Kūt, and I marvelled (superficially) that such a place could be defended for a day against a superior attacking force, much less be held for four and a half months against a regular leaguer. It seemed Ladysmith over again, though unfortunately without Ladysmith's happy outcome. But in reality, with its open flat glacis and the protection offered by the curious loops of the river here, it was a far more easily defensible position than Ladysmith, which could hardly have held out for a week had the Boers been really well equipped with heavy artillery. A wretched midden of mud-houses, with here and there a broken minaret, was Kūt: a House of Death. The sad anabasis of our wretched prisoners, driven on foot from Kūt to Anatolia by their Turkish captors, falling and dying by the way, is not easily forgotten.

13.—KŪT

We chugged on, with occasional holds-up owing to shallows, past Bghailah and Azīzīyah to Ctesiphon (Sulman Pak, named after the Prophet's barber, said to have been buried here), where my fellow-travellers and I landed to see the famous and wonderful Arch of Khusrau (Chosroes), which has been described so often. The standing arch, 95 feet in height and 85 feet across, looked secure, though the architects were a little inclined to shake their heads over it and to wish there were some way, not too obtrusive, of supporting it (see p. 57). The other arch fell in 1890, and one supposes that, unless some such means can be found, the survivor will also fall one of these days. It is remarkable that the fighting in the battle of 22 November, 1915, did not shake it, apparently. The brand of the fighting in the shape of the firing-step cut in the ancient

mud-brick wall of the city by the Turks will remain for all time, but luckily it is not much of an eyesore. And the arch might have been de-



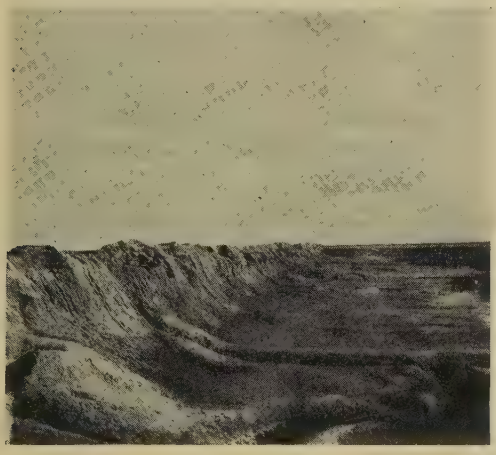
14.—A BRIDGE OF BOATS ON THE TIGRIS

stroyed, and would have been had the British Army been a Continental one. Our Command preferred to accept dangers to ourselves from the presence of Turkish flag-waggers on its summit rather than shell an ancient monument. The wonderful building, wholly Roman in its inspiration, bears remarkable testimony to the skill of the ancient builders in brick. 'It is', writes Miss Gertrude Bell, 'the most remarkable of all known Sassanian buildings, and one of the most imposing ruins in the world. The great curtain of wall,

15.—CTESIPHON

the face of the right wing, rises stark and gaunt out of the desert, bearing upon its surface a shallow decoration of niches and engaged columns, which is the final word in the Asiatic treatment of wall-spaces, the end of the long history of artistic endeavour which began with the Babylonians and was quickened into fresh vigour by the Greeks. . . . The gigantic vault, built over empty space without the use of centering beams, is one of the most stupendous creations of any age. It spans 25·80 metres: the barrel vaults of the basilica of Maxentius in the Roman Forum span 23·50 metres. . . . In this hall Chosroes held his court. It must have lain open to the rising sun, or perhaps the entrance was sheltered by a curtain which hung from the top of the vault down to the floor.'[1] Such was the *Aiwān Kisrā*, the 'Hall of Chosroes'. Ctesiphon, of which this stupendous ruin is the only relic, formed with the older Greek Seleucia on the opposite bank, of which not even a ruin remains, the capital of the later Persian kings (*al-Madain*, as the Arabs called the twin-cities), and great was the booty when the conquering Moslems took it from Yazdijrd, the last of the line of Chosroes. But the *Aiwān Kisrā* still bears Chosroes' name so long as it shall stand. And among all the ancient monuments of 'Iraq none are more worthy of our care than this.

16.—THE *AIWĀN KISRĀ*, CTESIPHON



17.—THE WALLS OF CTESIPHON

We joined the boat again, which had traversed a long loop of the river,

[1] *Amurath to Amurath*, pp. 179–80.

at Sulman Pak, just on the further side of the Hall of Chosroes. The country now began to be fertile. *Nauras* or Persian wheels, *shadūfs* and *saqīyahs*, lifting the water up the banks into the irrigation-runnels of the fields, groaned on either side. Men in *quffahs*, the pitched coracles that have been used since the days of the Assyrians, paddled frantically across our bows or rocked across our wake. We passed the mouth of the Diyālā, and finally swept round by Hinaidi and the Air Force Camp into the mouth of the long river-street of Baghdad, coming to a stop at a *bund* on the west bank, where I landed.

Here I found that Baghdad was not quite yet for me, an incomprehensible captain, unattached. I had to explain myself. The fact that I spoke some Arabic, could look after myself, and would very much like to be allowed to do so, was apparently new and surprising. People seemed quite incredulous as to my powers of taking care of myself in an Oriental country, as if I were a boy fresh from a country vicarage. My 'British Museum' bag and my rücksack were equally unorthodox. The Military Arm was, apparently, rather indisposed to surrender my 'general service' person, as requested, to the Political Arm. However, at last I got leave to send a note to the Political Offices, and in due time was formally taken over from the military (I don't know if he gave them a receipt for me), by the *rais* of the Political launch sent by Captain Stephenson, was deposited at the Political Offices and heartily welcomed, and now finally my little troubles with the less comprehending of the minor military authorities were over. I had run the gauntlet of R.T.O.'s and Camp-Commandants and Embarkation Officers, mostly sympathetic, many puzzled, a few actively irritated by me and my 'British Museum' kit, from London to Baghdad; and now that I had arrived I found the soldiers henceforward as kind and as helpful as they

18.—A MESOPOTAMIAN *SHADŪF*

could be, and most of them strongly interested in the work I hoped to do. Besides, like the Scot in *Punch*, I was now at last able to 'come into contact with the heads of depairtments', *i.e.* the generals commanding, and when the *bara sahibs* said I was to be allowed to do a thing, naturally there were no more difficulties from the *chhota* soldier *log*. My natural and proper place was where I was put by Colonel A. T. Wilson, who as Acting Chief Civil Commissioner, was responsible for the antiquities of the country, and I received every possible assistance from the military authorities in carrying out the commissions with which he charged me.

At the Political Offices I found, besides Captain Stephenson, Miss Gertrude Bell, directing the Arab Bureau, and every day deep in negotiations with the Chiefs with whose mind she sympathized so deeply. Her interest in possible archaeological work in 'Iraq was intensely keen, and though she had expected, not me, but her friend King as the representative of the British Museum, she received me as his *remplaçant* in the most friendly manner, and many were the discussions I had with her on the prospects of archaeology under the new *régime*. Her death was directly due to overwork, to her devotion to her self-imposed mission in 'Iraq. 'A. T.', as everybody called him, was away on another of his aeroplane trips to Bushire in his capacity of Resident in the Gulf.

Baghdad was a sea of mud. To walk from the Political Offices, in the south of the city, up New Street past the old Residency (then the Army Headquarters), and the Khan Aurtmah to Victor's, the photographers on the left, opposite the blue-tiled Mosque of Haidar Khaneh, and then on to the Citadel and the Army Canteen Stores, which had very often to be my journey, was torture. I slithered, I stumbled, I shambled through the mud, which splashed above the tops of the waders which it was my misfortune to have to wear whenever foot was put out of door. And when on one occasion I tried a walk out of town on a bright and cheerful 'English' spring day, I was nearly bogged. I had never till then understood how it was that that gigantic young guardsman of the great Frederick's, Baron Friedrich von der Trenck, in his attempted escape from the fortress of Glatz, was absolutely caught and stuck fast in the mud of the moat, though not above his knees, so that he was obliged to call out to the sentry, who had never noticed him, to go and tell the Governor that Trenck was stuck in the moat and would go back to prison peacefully if

he would send somebody to pull him out. Now I knew, and I realized Trenck's sensations! They still knew what mud was on the Continent

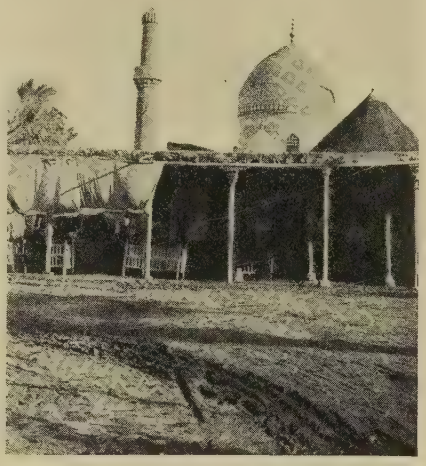
19.—BRITISH FOOTBALL IN THE CITADEL SQUARE, BAGHDAD

in the eighteenth century, and we had known what it was like in Sussex in the seventeenth; but no modern knows what mud can be unless he has been to 'Mespot' in winter!

20.—MIRJĀNĪYAH MOSQUE, BAGHDAD

There was nothing much to detain me in Baghdad after I had made myself acquainted with the Government *dossier* of correspondence and reports on matters archaeological. Saracenic antiquities were not my *pidgin*; I had no warrant to spend any of my time in inspecting them, and after Cairo I was not wildly excited. The mosques cannot hold a candle to those of Cairo in interest, and possibly never have, at any rate since the Tartar sack in 1258. Since I was at Baghdad much has been done, I believe, by the *Waqf* administration (ecclesiastical foundations), under energetic British advisers and the architects of the Public Works

Department, to clean up and repair the mosques and other ecclesiastical buildings, which now do not look so absolutely tumble-down and in the last stage of decrepitude as they did when I was there ten years ago. Impressions of Baghdad gathered in 1919 are not fair to the Baghdad of 1929 either in the matter of buildings or of mud, and the Baghdad mosques look more attractive now than they did then, though whether the rest of the city and the bazaars do is another story. However, modern buildings had to be put up for modern requirements, and in Mr. J. M. Wilson they found a most competent architect and Director of Public Works, fully alive to and sympathetic with Oriental architectural tradition. And the Saracenic buildings of Baghdad have their great interest in spite of their ruin or their modernization. Above all the great twelfth-century hall of the Khan Aurtmah, at the entrance to the bazaars, once used as an inn attached to the fine Mirjānīyah Mosque and Madraseh (college) close by, but now a wholesale storehouse for bales of cotton and stacks of skins, always drew my steps aside from my muddy pilgrimages to the Citadel, where there is also a fine mosque of the Persian style. The covered ancient bazaars were, of course, far more interesting than those of Cairo and Stambūl, which have totally lost all their Oriental picturesqueness. But the carpets and brasswork they had to sell were selling at prices that only British Officers would give, and cuneiform tablets were scarce and dear.



21.—CITADEL MOSQUE, BAGHDAD

The blue-domed mosque of Haidar Khāneh, on the line of New Street (which Khalīl Pasha cut straight through the town during the war as a monument of Turkish victory, destroying the adjoining bazaar—although *waqf* or ecclesiastical property!—in order to do so, with the high hand, quite Turkish, in such matters), is modern, and so is that of 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Gitāni. I had no time to explore the fine old tomb-

mosques of the west bank such as Shaikh Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, or the Aqūliyah, and unluckily the nearer sight of the golden domes and minarets of Kadhimain was put off till a morrow that never came. My pilgrimages over the Maude Bridge or across the river in a *quffah* (coracle) had as their aim visits to the railway station or camp for one purpose or another connected with my work, and the mud was so omnipresent and so exhausting that I put off all pleasure-excursions to a later day when I hoped to return to Baghdad, my work done, on my way home at a season when mud should cease from troubling and waders be worn no more. So I came all the way to Baghdad and never went to Kadhimain, though I saw its domes.

22.—NEW STREET AND THE HAIDAR KHĀNEH MOSQUE

Mud-exhausted I returned daily from my struggles, to sink into a long chair on the comfortable balcony of the Political Offices overlooking the river, and while I read my archaeological *dossiers* and reports I smoked my pipe and watched the constant *va-et-vient* of the traffic on the stream below (Fig. 23).

That was indeed a pleasant occupation, but it soon had to be given up. I had first to go to Ḥillah to arrange matters for my stay at Babylon with the Political Officer, Captain H. H. Tyler. An Armenian servant engaged for me deserted me at the last minute, so I was servantless, an unheard-of condition of things according to Indian ideas. But I went by myself, by train, as the German standard-gauge line (4 feet 8½ inches) from Baghdad to Sāmárrā, that enclave of the Baghdad railway which had been laid down before the war, had now been extended southward to Ḥillah, to meet the narrow-gauge line being built from Naṣirīyyah in the south and so put Basrah in direct railway connexion with Baghdad, obviating the long Tigris voyage or the troublesome transhipment to the military narrow-gauge line at Kut. This last has since been pulled up as unnecessary and

23.—THE TIGRIS FROM A BAGHDAD BALCONY

the Baghdad-Ḥillah line has been turned into the narrow-gauge (3 feet 6 inches). In 1919 one travelled in the battered iron troop-cars of the Germans, hauled either by one of the patched and repaired German engines

24.—GERMAN AND L.S.W.R. LOCOMOTIVES, BAGHDAD

the Turks had left behind (not sufficiently damaged to prevent their being used again) or by one of the ancient and comparatively feeble L.S.W.R. goods engines, brought out for war-service, which looked strangely out of place in Mesopotamia and tiny by the side of the German giants (Fig. 24).

We started at 1 a.m. on 15 January. A cold night in the rattling and clanking iron box-car brought me in the grey light of the dawn to Ḥillah. Curiously reminiscent it was of other dawn-arrivals by train at Egyptian towns, say at Balyānā, for instance, for Abydos. Much the same houses of mud-brick, smeared with distemper sometimes, decorated here and there in that crude Moslem taste that always makes us smile as at the play of children, with gimcrack wooden domes or turrets, with shrieking kaleidoscope glass, and absurd blue wall-drawings of boats or what not, or scrawled inscriptions on walls once white. The *maqlūfs* or wind-cowls, to entice the cool draught into the houses, were Egyptian enough; but I missed the great white pylon-like dovecotes of Egypt. 'Iraq has its

25.—THE GERMAN STATION, BAGHDAD, 1919

pigeon-towers, but they are not such wonderful erections as those of Egypt. The palms were the same, and the Euphrates might pass for some by-blow of the Nile, the Bahr Yūsuf let us say. The Fayyūm has a very 'Iraqi look. Of a railway-station there was, of course, no trace. Nowhere in Mesopotamia, not even at Baghdad before the war, was there a railway-station like our extraordinary transplantations from Britain into Egypt with their high stone platforms of regulation British height and solidity, and their overhead passenger bridges at large towns like Tantah, Benha, Sohag, or Minia, where one gazes fascinated, amid all the dusty, casual East around, at the English, as well as Arabic, notice: 'Passengers are forbidden to cross the line except by the Bridge'.

Who said Prussia? But we do not notice these beams in our own eyes. There was no 'Kein Ausgang!', or 'Es ist den Reisenden ausdrücklich verboten die Geleise zu überschreiten!' at Baghdad Station; but there would have been, no doubt, if the Germans had had time enough to improve their occasion. Meanwhile all they could do was to put up for a station a red brick and wood shed (on a low platform, of course) which looked as if it had been brought in sections from a *Güterbahnhof* on the outskirts of Berlin. What we may have done since I know not *de visu*, but the Indian omens (where the suburban stations at Bombay, for instance, are so evidently British, even to the bookstalls, as to make one fancy oneself at Kilburn-Brondesbury or Ravenscourt Park) are not favourable to any preservation of Oriental characteristics. In 1919, however, there was nothing except at Baghdad: there were no stations at all elsewhere; the train stopped, and you detrained into mud, happy if it were not pouring with rain. If in uniform, your batman or servant and you retrieved your luggage, impressed a Persian or Kurdish *ḥammāl* to carry it, and waded or marched, as the case might be, to your destination.

So at Ḥillah in that cold January dawn, after that sleepless night in that cold, clanking, jerking, banging iron car, I, being without a servant, threw my bag out of the train, seized a *ḥammāl* to carry it, and with the *ḥammāl* waded through sand beneath the palms to the bridge of boats over the Euphrates, and then, guided by him, past the Konak and the military stores, through the bazaar away from the river a little up a side-street to the door of a lofty Eastern house, with bare walls below, and *mushrabīyah*-framed windows supported on corbels above. Through this door, having knocked and been admitted by one muffled to his eyes and shivering, we entered an Eastern garden. My impedimenta were cast down behind the hanging mats that screened an open space beneath the upper story of the house, leading to the *serdab* or cellar of coolness (hardly needed in Egypt) where in the high summer one would take refuge from the rays of Shamash. My *ḥammāl* disappeared, rupee in hand, while the muffled and shivering one sought one higher in dignity than he, who should announce to Master that a sahib had arrived and sought his hospitality. That one, however, was not easily to be aroused, and Master too still slept. A gardener appeared, also muffled up, and began slowly to set about his business like a child going unwillingly to

school, giving me furtive glances as overcoated I walked to and fro to make me warm. A *saqqā* or water-carrier appeared with his *mussick*, water was given, and the gardener began to make his daily mud-pies at the foot of the palms. There were many palms in the garden, each with its mud-pie, its little puddle with its dam around it, to keep its feet wet while its head should luxuriate in the sun-blaze that was to come. A grey mud wall surrounded the garden, crowned with odd pots and remnants of pots, and on it sat a meditative crow that cawed from time to time in a doubtful manner. He caught sight of me, stared, as the gardener had done: then, giving a loud caw of orthodox disapproval worthy of some scandalized Mujtahid (whom he much resembled), he flew off. A frog croaked occasionally. An owl hooted belatedly, and then was silent as the light increased from beyond the palms and the warmth began to be felt. And now a kite high in a palm uttered his piercing cry, to welcome the coming sun—*pî-î-î-yorô-yorô* (and Pi-yorōyorō is what the Japanese call his congener in Japan)—*pî-î-î-yorô-yorô!* Another answered him. Egypt again: I knew that cry very well, and it made me feel at home. A breeze began to rustle the tops of the palms. I felt hungry, and turned impatiently to the house where now on the wooden balcony that faced the garden the long-gowned figure of the intermediary, the *farrash* or servant of the Master, was seen, bowing. Colloquy ensued with the occupant of one of the rooms that opened on to the balcony, masterful words made themselves heard even to me in the garden below, and then the pyjama-clad figure of Master himself appeared, to welcome me warmly to his Eastern abode, as the sun burst from above the palms and flooded the garden with light and warmth.

Captain Tyler had taken up his residence in a typical 'Iraqi house of the better type, which, I was told, had formerly belonged to a rich Jew named Manasseh or Menahem, I have forgotten which. It was old and it was comfortable: a narrow building between the garden and the street, with, of course, no door opening directly into the latter, but reached only through the garden-gate under the upper story, beneath which, beside the gate, were the *serdab* and the 'domestic offices' and storerooms. Above, approached by a steep winding stair, in the further corner from the gate, was the wooden balcony looking on to the garden, on to which opened the doors of the upper rooms, a fine big

room for the Political Officer (the 'Master') himself, to use as office and living-room, and the bedrooms. Mine, where I was installed, was a long room, characteristically Eastern, with its *mushrabiyah*-veiled window overlooking the narrow street. Here the welcome hot bath and still more welcome change got rid of all the wretchedness of the night on the train, and breakfast, followed by a pipe, made me a new man. Nor was my restored equanimity disturbed by a first trial of the genuine aboriginal 'Iraqi cigarette, of which remarkable brand Captain Tyler kept a never-failing supply on his table, chiefly for the delectation of native visitors, but also for his own. It is a taste that may grow upon one, but though I

26.—THE HOUSE OF MENAHEM THE JEW, HILLAH

am a hardened smoker of any, even the weirdest, type of tobacco, the 'Iraqi cigarette never charmed me. In a funnel-shaped tube, or cornet, of hard paper is a pinch of dry, dusty, rank and bitter tobacco, retained by a twist of the paper over the broader end, which one lights up with a flare of paper, a cough and a gasp. However, the 'Iraqis love them, and I also later on kept my supply at hand for visitors.

Later followed my introduction to the other Politicals of Ḥillah, Capt. Dacres the 'A.P.O.', always helpful, the cheery judge, and others whom India had lent from her store of capable civilians to Ḥillah as to other towns in 'Iraq. They lived in a modern building of violently 'Wilhelminisch'

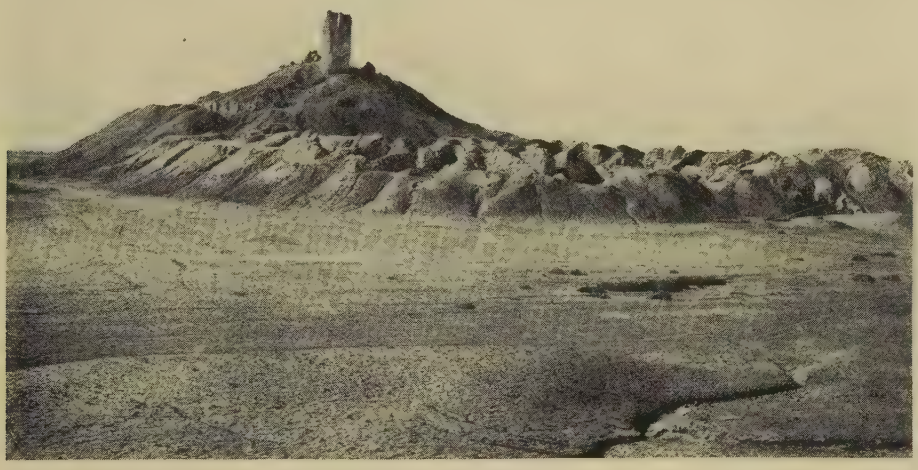
aspect even to its yellow brick, and presumably of German design, the *Konak* nearer the river, towards which we looked over some low wooden workshops. From Captain Tyler's house the stream was invisible.

Ḥillah was the most Egyptian-looking town I had yet seen in 'Iraq. There is nothing Egyptian about Baghdad, which with its high and balconied houses backing on to the river on one side, and its jungle of palms and occasional buildings on the other, is more Indian than Egyptian in its characteristics. Let us say that is characteristically Mesopotamian, as much so as Samāwah (see p. 69). But Ḥillah, with its river, so like a narrower Nile, its palms, and its foreshore with road along it on to which

27.—HILLAH

face buildings of white or pink-smeared brick, its minarets and its dove-cotes (albeit neither were of Nilotic type), was strongly reminiscent of an Egyptian town. The busy bazaars, however, with their tunnel-like vaulted streets coiled round the central and unapproachable mosque, were Mesopotamian enough. And so were the bricks of which it was built, not crude mud-brick here but red baked of the most genuine Mesopotamian lineage; for the whole town is built chiefly of ancient Babylonian burnt bricks from the ruins of Babylon and Birs Nimrūd, many of them stamped with the three or four-line inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. Such an inexhaustible store of ready-made building material could hardly

be neglected! After a hasty preliminary visit to al-Birs or Birs 'Nimrūd' in the big Political Dodge car, driven by a British soldier-chauffeur, over ground unhappily the scene a year later of a disaster to young and untried British troops, new to the country, in the revolt, I at last reached Babylon on 16 January. To Birs I was to return later; for the moment I merely wished to see its jagged castle-like ruin of fired brick on its high mound: all that is left of the great *ziggurrat* or temple-tower of Borsippa,[1] the city of the god Nabu (Nebo), and the suburb, almost, of Babylon. Swiftly that distant spike of brick upon its helmet-like mound approached and enlarged, as we ate up the ground in the fast car. And now we were at



28.—BIRS NIMRŪD (BORSIPPA)

the foot, with the riven brickwork towering above us, in the blazing sun of noonday (Fig. 28). I never saw it by moonlight. Then indeed it would seem

> 'A savage place, as holy and enchanted
> As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
> By woman waiting for her demon lover.'[2]

[1] The modern name Birs, or better Burs, is, of course, merely a truncated form of the ancient Barsip, Borsippa. The name of Nimrūd attached to it has no authority but Arab legend (see J. S. Buckingham, *Travels*, ii. 384).

[2] I should like to see this turned into classical Arabic verse: one would say it would go excellently well paraphrased in the style of some poet of 'the Ignorance'.

A fit home for *afrīts*. Yet there are inhabitants, even near Birs, and shepherd-boys in dirty raiment and armed with formidable-looking *khanjars* or curved daggers pressed around with coins to sell. From the top, amid the wrecked and vitrified walls that looked like the ruins of a blown-up fort at Verdun, I gazed south-westward to where the distant minaret of the 'Tomb of Ezekiel' at Kifl marked the other Euphrates branch, the Hindīya, and the first stage to Kūfa. I was to go no further in that direction: there were no antiquities to tempt me there, and I had no business at Kerbelā and Najaf. Still I hoped later on, perhaps, my work finished, my route homeward might take me with a slight deflection past the Holy Cities and the Golden Dome. But that was not to be. I had no time to return to Baghdad after the close of my work at Ur, and the fanatical Shi'ah mujtahids, disappointed of the prospect of a holy theocratic government which they had promised themselves after the expulsion of the Turks, were becoming more disaffected and violent than ever, so that I should have seen very little of either city had I been able to visit them, and of course nothing of the mosques.

29.—SHEPHERDS, BIRS NIMRŪD

As swiftly we traversed the desert back to the palm-groves of Ḥillah, and then before evening northward with a servant now (a Ḥillāwi named Ḥusain, promptly found for me by the Master of Ḥillah) and my small luggage, in the same car. Past the palm-embowered village of Jamjamah we sped, with the mounds of Babylon and the hill of Imām 'Amrān ibn 'Alī, beneath which lies the temple of Marduk, on the right. Beyond it rises the flat-topped red mound Ḥumaira, that is the funeral pyre of Hephaistion, piled up by Alexander, over by the railway —then, through a gap in a great earthwork, past the village wall of Ḳwairesh on the left, and quickly round to the river and the outer gate of what was the house of the German archaeological expedition, where I was to stay. At the door stood 'Amrān ibn Ḥamūd, salaaming. I shall have a good deal

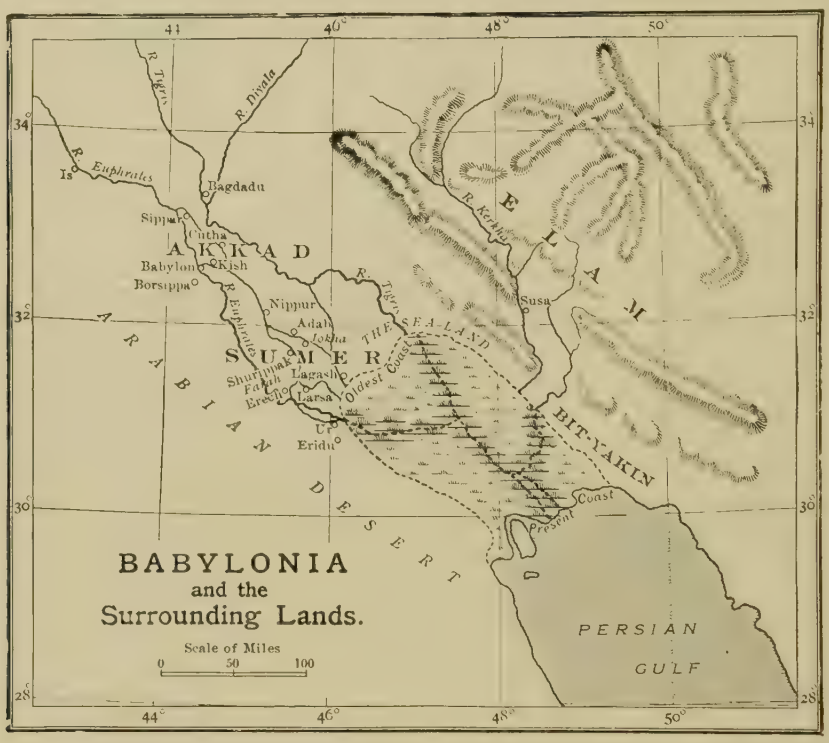
to say about 'Amrān ibn Ḥamūd, the guardian of the rest-house and my very efficient helper during the whole of my work in Mesopotamia, till we parted on the last day of May at Baṣrah. He was the youngest but most efficient of Prof. Koldewey's raises on the excavations, and had grown up on the work, having started as Buddensieg's camera-boy. Now he was a hefty young man of twenty-five to thirty or so, energetic and intelligent, with a distinct *flair* for archaeology and understanding of what it means. I soon saw that he was the head *raïs* or foreman I needed if I was going to excavate, and luckily there was no difficulty about my borrowing him for that purpose. Meanwhile, however, I had to examine Babylon with 'Amrān as guide and factotum.

'Amrān installed me in a bedroom on the upper floor of the building forming the outer wall of the house on the north side of the court, to the south of which was the main portion of the house abutting on the village of Ḳwairesh. This main portion was now closed, as it contained the workrooms and museum of the German excavators left by them when they abandoned work after the fall of Baghdad two years before, and sealed up by our authorities to prevent depredations and thefts. Orders had now been given to unseal the house for my inspection, but it was impossible to live in it: the living-rooms available were in the outer block which was used for occasional military or other visitors. I was very comfortable with my Bombay camp-bed, a Rūrkī chair from Baghdad as well as my Suez deck-chair: my Ḥillāwi servant cooked for me, and 'Amrān's powers as a caterer promised well for the future excavation.

30.—THE GERMAN HOUSE, KWAIRESH, BABYLON

And on the morrow I started forth early for my first visit to Babylon alone, eluding 'Amrān, and without even book. Except for the general

impression gained of immensity of ruin, the picture of acres of brickwork, it was a mistake to go without the book. I thought I had studied Koldewey's plan well enough to do without it. But I was mistaken: the scale was so unexpectedly big. One had to have the book with one to follow the plan on the spot. I returned for Koldewey, and this time was caught by 'Amrān, who had to be permitted to take me round, or he would have been hurt. Later on, when I could dismiss him with decency, I turned to



31.—ANCIENT BABYLONIA AND THE SURROUNDING LANDS

Koldewey, and with occasional help from the British soldier-guards of the ruins whom Brigadier-Gen. E. W. Costello, V.C., commanding at Hillah, had placed upon it, I spent the rest of the day, and two or three days following, in familiarizing myself with the topography of Babylon. It took several days to do properly. The place is immense. It puts Karnak, of course, entirely in the shade. Karnak ought not to take more than two or at most three days to 'do' well, unless of course one is bent on studying some part of it in detail. After a week's study of Babylon I

began to feel I knew the place pretty well, and could advise on any archaeological measures that might seem pressing. General Costello, who had taken great interest in the place, had tried to make it attractive to visitors by grading roads up to it and beyond it, marking out paths, and labelling the chief portions of the site such as the Ishtar Gate with their names. He also had placed two British soldier-guards (one of whom is now employed in my department of the British Museum) on duty to keep it in order, as I have said, and had written and printed a small guide to Babylon, with the help of Captain R. Campbell Thompson. This I found generally used by visitors, and I hope still is.

CHAPTER II

FROM BABYLON TO UR

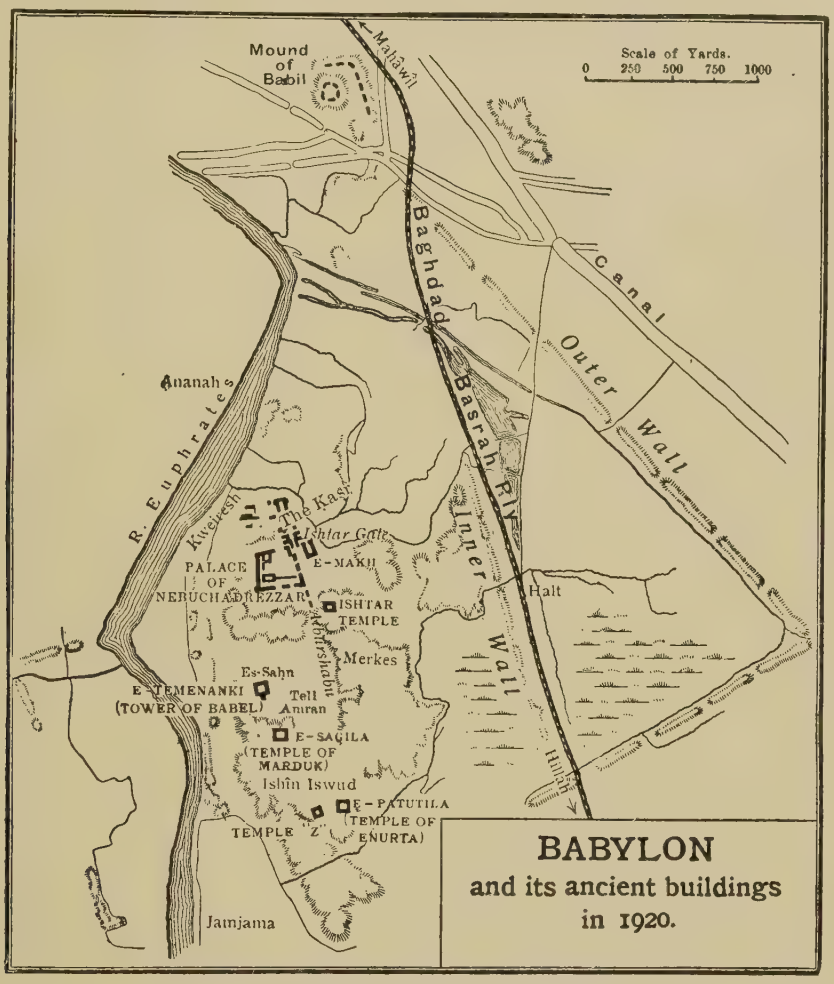
THE plan of Babylon is probably well-known to all who are interested in Mesopotamian antiquities, either from Koldewey's book or from older publications which give some idea of it before the Germans began their work. And those who visited it during the war will well remember the sea of brown brick ruins extending along the banks of the Euphrates from the mosque-crowned hill of 'Amrān Ibn 'Ali in the south to the great fortress-like mass of Babīl in the north. Few will have forgotten the impressive twin towers of the Ishtar Gate as they rise, in the midst of the ruined city, from the depths of the excavation in which Koldewey traced their building downwards till the infiltration of water from the river stopped his work.

The Ishtar Gate (Figs. 35, 36) was unknown to earlier visitors to Babylon. Only the summits so far as they were preserved stood up a few feet above the soil when Koldewey first visited the place in 1887 and collected fragments of the polychrome glaze bricks with which they were decorated, specimens which ten years later enabled him to attract the attention of those in Germany who financed his work, with as the result the great series of excavations carried out at the expense of the *Deutsch Orient-Gesellschaft* between the years 1899–1914.[1]

But Babīl (Fig. 45) has always stood up like a rock by the banks of the Euphrates, and the riven and overturned (*mujlība*) brick masses of Babīl and the Qaṣr (Fig. 34) had attracted the attention of travellers centuries before, from Benjamin of Tudela in the thirteenth century to the travelling Englishmen of the beginning of the nineteenth, such as Rich, Buckingham, and Ker Porter, who in Mesopotamia led the way to the actual explorations of Rawlinson and Layard, of Botta and Oppert. Marco

[1] See Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, Engl. trans. of *Das Wieder erstehende Babylon*, 1914.

Polo does not mention Babylon, and as Hilprecht shews,[1] the sixteenth-century travellers, Rauwolff, Balbi, and Eldres, mistook the great Kassite ruin of 'Aqarqūf, west of Baghdad, for the Tower of Babel, and never went to the real Babylon at all. Pietro della Valle, the Venetian, was the



32.—PLAN OF BABYLON
(*After* Koldewey and Andrāe, *with additions*)

first of the moderns to visit and appreciate Babylon. His visit took place in the year 1616, and he brought back with him (as he also did from Ur nine years later [2]) inscribed bricks for the consideration of the learned, and noted that the strange 'cuneiform' or wedge-like characters apparently

[1] *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 14.

[2] See below, p. 71.

read from left to right.[1] Later travellers, such as Niebuhr and others who visited the Ḥillah region, were convinced that Birs (Fig. 28) was the Tower of Babel, chiefly, of course, on account of its vitrified bricks. That magnificent nabob, Claudius James Rich, in 1811, was the first who really investigated Babylon with care and gave the world a correct idea of the place.[2] And he too thought that Birs must be the Tower of Babel. So did J. S. Buckingham, who found the Hanging Gardens in the Qaṣr, as Koldewey did after him. But Buckingham, like others, had an enormously exaggerated idea of the size of Babylon (derived from Herodotus) and thought it included not only Birs to the south-west but even Uḥaimir, eight miles away to the east (the site of Kish).[3] Sir R. K. Porter, who visited Babylon in 1818, also recognized the Tower of Babel in Birs, and so had to extend Babylon to include what was, we now know, in reality Borsippa, since the ancient authors distinctly state that the 'Temple of Belus' was in the midst of Babylon. But he saw that Uḥaimir could not possibly have ever been part of the city. And his successor, Captain Mignan, in 1827, saw too that Birs could never have been part of it either, and that the temple of Borsippa was not the Tower of Babel. Mignan was the first to dig in the Qaṣr—the first excavator, in fact, in Mesopotamia.

Layard was the second to dig at Babylon. But his excavations, carried out in 1850, were fruitless, and he only stayed a month. It was the French who, in the persons of Fresnel and Oppert, in 1852–4, first excavated Babylon on a large scale though without much success. And Oppert still thought that Borsippa was part of Babylon and Birs the Temple of Bel. The whole of the results of the expedition were lost in the Tigris by the sinking of the boat conveying them, in May 1855. On the whole archaeologists in the Near East have been singularly free from misfortunes of this nature. One can only call to mind the loss in the Mediterranean of the famous stone sarcophagus of King Menkaura' of Egypt, found in the Third Pyramid by Howard Vyse, and the sinking in the submarine-torpedoed *Arabic* during the Great War of a valuable Egyptian statue on the way to America. And the greatest of these losses was Oppert's and the Louvre's, for it included among other things an inscribed marble vase of the early Akkadian king Narām-Sin (about 2700 B.C.), for long the only monument of these early kings that was known.

[1] Hilprecht, *l.c.*, p. 17. [2] Rich, *Collected Memoirs*, London, 1839. [3] *Travels*, ii, 287, 306.

In 1879 work was resumed at Babylon and Birs, this time for the British Museum, by Hormuzd Rassam. He found many tablets, but no monuments, and he was not interested in architecture. It was not till Koldewey and the Germans appeared upon the scene, twenty years later, that Babylon began to be excavated in a scientific manner.

The chief result of their work has been to prove the value and extent of the work carried out by the great king Nebuchadrezzar, partly in addition to, and partly in substitution for, that of his father Nabopolassar, who (in spite of the supposed care of Esarhaddon for Babylon) was the first to raise the city again after its destruction by Sennacherib. Nebuchadrezzar's work during his long reign so entirely eclipsed his father's that there is little of the latter's work left, and the whole city, with the exception of the temples, bears the important imprint of his name to the exclusion of all others except to a limited extent his Persian successors. His was Babīl, an enormous palace with huge walls; his the Qaṣr north of the great dividing walls; and he remodelled the palace of Nabopolassar south of it and, according to Koldewey, built there the Hanging Gardens. And he it was built the Ishtar Gate, raising it higher and higher as he heightened the level of his great Processional Road, Aibur-shabu, that ran through it, and stretched, curved like a great long-bow, with its highest point by the Gate, from Babīl in the north to Ē-Sagila, the temple of Marduk (now beneath the hill of Imām 'Amrān-ibn-'Ali) in the south (Fig. 42). 'Is not this great Babylon, my chief city that I have built by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty?'

Then they have identified the temples of the goddesses Ninmakh and Ishtar, Ē-temenanki the temple of Bel, where is the stump of the veritable 'Tower of Babel', Ē-Sagila the temple of the sky-god Marduk or Merodach, Ē-patutila the temple of the god Enurta or Ninurta (who used to be called 'Ninib'), and the temple with unknown dedication, known as 'Z'. And they have excavated them completely with the exception of Ē-Sagila, which, lying 70 feet beneath the top of the hill of the mythical saint 'Amrān ibn 'Ali (who has inherited Marduk's worship), it has been impossible to explore completely. Besides this they have excavated a part of the city itself, with buildings going back to the time of Ḫammurabi (1900 B.C.) in the tract known (from the fact that town-buildings were found there) as al-Markaz, 'the market'; and have

found the piers of an ancient Euphrates-bridge which carried Aibursha-bu across the river as it ran then immediately west of Ē-temenanki and Ē-Sagila, whereas its present course is further west. This bridge was built by Nabopolassar and is mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus.

Then they have discovered a Persian *āpadāna* or hall of audience of Cyrus and his successors between Nabopolassar's palace and the Euphrates, and a Greek theatre of the Seleucid time, away east towards the inner walls, on which rises the Ḥumaira mound which they have successfully identified as the funeral-pyre of Alexander's favourite Hephaistion.

And of the multitudes of antiquities which they found, such as were not removed to Constantinople previously to the war are still housed in the museum of their house at Ḳwairesh, where I saw and inventoried them during my stay. Their work is not yet finished, and it is to be hoped that either they or the French, who have of course the prior claim of Oppert's work, will resume it. But it would be best that the Germans should do it, as they succeed to the tradition of the modern scientific work of Koldewey, and the records of the Koldewey excavation are theirs. Continuity of scientific work would be best served by their return to the scene of Koldewey's devoted labours.

33.—THE LION OF BABYLON

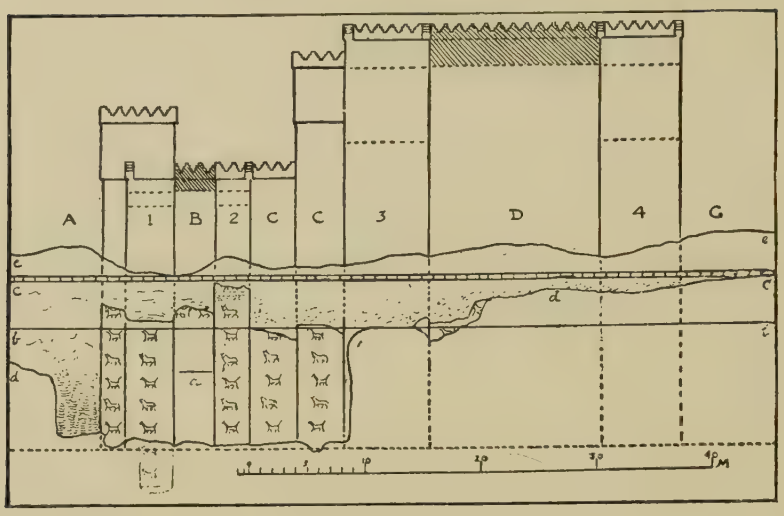
Leaving the rest-house of Ḳwairesh, one turns to the left by an ascending path, and is soon amid the wrecked and confused walls of the Ḳaṣr, which, like Babīl, is indeed *al-muqlībah*, 'the overturned' (locally pronounced *mujlībah*), as the Arabs say. It looks like the blown-up ruins of a dozen concrete casemate-forts (Fig. 34). In the middle of it is a great hollow excavation, balanced rather precariously on the side of which is the famous stone lion (Fig. 33), trampling a prostrate man, which had been a well-known feature of Babylon long before the days of Koldewey. Although it may be unfinished, one can hardly doubt that its rude style is not Babylonian or

Assyrian, or that it is a war-trophy, like the almost equally well-known Syro-Hittite relief of a pig-tailed god, probably Teshup, wielding an axe, which was found by Koldewey. These, with, no doubt, other monuments of the same kind, were war-trophies, perhaps of Nabopolassar's fetching from the north, when he took Carchemish for instance.

34.—THE QAṢR, BABYLON

Then one turns one's steps half-right and reaches the stretch of Aibur-shabu, the great processional road, north of the Ishtar Gate. Two different levels of the road are exhibited for our inspection, two sections, one at each level, being shewn. Originally the road was built at the lower level by Nabopolassar, but, as Nebuchadrezzar in one of his inscriptions says: 'Aibur-shabu, the roadway of Babylon, I filled up with a high filling for the procession of the great lord Marduk, and with *turminabanda*-stone and with *shadu*-stone I made Aibur-shabu . . . fit for the procession of his godhead.' It seems probable indeed that Nebuchadrezzar raised the great road a second time before the end of his reign. The result was that the height of the great fourfold 'Ishtar Gate', which we now reach, had to be raised *passi passu* with the road, so that at the end of Nebuchadrezzar's reign much of what we see now of its lower part was

35.—THE ISHTAR GATE



36.—RESTORED SECTION OF THE ISHTAR GATE

a, traces of pavement; *b*, level of second pavement of Aiburshabu; *c*, level of final pavement; *d*, modern ground-level, shewing excavation of foot of gate-towers. (King, *after* Andrae)

buried, and the towers, glorious with their decoration of lions and dragons in coloured brick relief, were much higher than they are now. The lower, originally hidden, courses have the same direction in brick relief, uncoloured. At the side of Aiburshabu were parapets with similar coloured

37.—CRUDE BRICK WALLS OF THE TEMPLE OF NIN-MAKH, BABYLON

relief brick decoration, and the brick floors of the road are still covered here and there by stretches of the pavement of great *turminabanda* stones that Nebuchadrezzar describes. This stone is a white breccia. Where it was quarried we do not know, but its name is foreign and apparently northern, probably east-Anatolian, by its sound.

To the left of the Ishtar Gate, and raised high above the deep pit into which we look to see the base of the gate, is the crude brick temple, *Ē-makh*, dedicated to the goddess Nin-makh ('Mighty Lady'), which stood there on a low hill long before Nebuchadrezzar raised the Ishtar Gate to tower above it as it must have in its pride. Passing along the line of the Processional Way south of the Gate we skirt on the right the southern palace

38.—THE ARCHES OF THE HANGING GARDENS (?), BABYLON

of Nebuchadrezzar which he built, in the shell, so to speak, of the older palace of Nabopolassar. Immediately on the right are the high brick arches (Fig. 38) on which, Koldewey thought, 'hung' the famous Hanging Gardens, which Nebuchadrezzar built for his wife, the Persian princess, in order to give her the semblance of the wooded mountains of the Zagros, her native land. An exact parallel is simply provided by the 'Mappin Terraces' in our Zoölogical Gardens at Regent's Park. Cover the Mappin Terraces with soil and plant pine and juniper upon them, and you would have the replica of Nebuchadrezzar's Hanging Gardens at Babylon. The still standing arches at Babylon correspond to the artificial hill of brick and concrete, in which is installed the Aquarium of the 'Zoo'. I own that I was, like Prof. King (*Hist. Bab.*, p. 50), somewhat incredulous at first of this

explanation of Koldewey's of the Hanging Gardens, but contemplation of the Mappin Terraces has convinced me that he may well have been right, and that these arches are quite possibly the supports of Nebuchadrezzar's garden, which 'hung' just as the brick mountains of the ibexes do at Regent's Park, the *κρεμαστοὶ κῆποι* on which the expatriated Cretan *agrimia* (wild goats) can fancy themselves back on the Sphakiote cliffs as the Persian queen fancied herself at Agbatana, even amid the dreary plains of 'Irāq.

Agar firdaws bar rūyi zamīn ast,
Hamīn ast, u hamīn ast, u hamīn ast.

'If there is a Paradise on earth,
'tis this, 'tis this, 'tis this.'

(Inscription in the Dīwān-i-Khas at Delhi.)

Whether the queen thought so we know not, but her great spouse did his best to please her, and he no doubt would have considered it quite an appropriate sentiment to apply to his wonderful palace. But to us when now we turn our eyes from the arches that once bore the queen's garden over the mazy wilderness of ruins that represents the king's palace and his father's, the lines of her later compatriot poet occur as more appropriate:

An qaṣr-ki Bahrām dar u jām girift,
Rūbah bachah kard u shīr ārām girift
Bahrām-ki gūr mi girifti dā'im,
Imrūz nigar-ki gūr Bahrām girift.

'In that castle where Bahrām grasped the cup
The foxes whelp and the lion doth rest—
Bahrām, who was always catching wild asses (*gūr*)
To-day behold! the grave (*gūr*) has caught
Bahrām.'

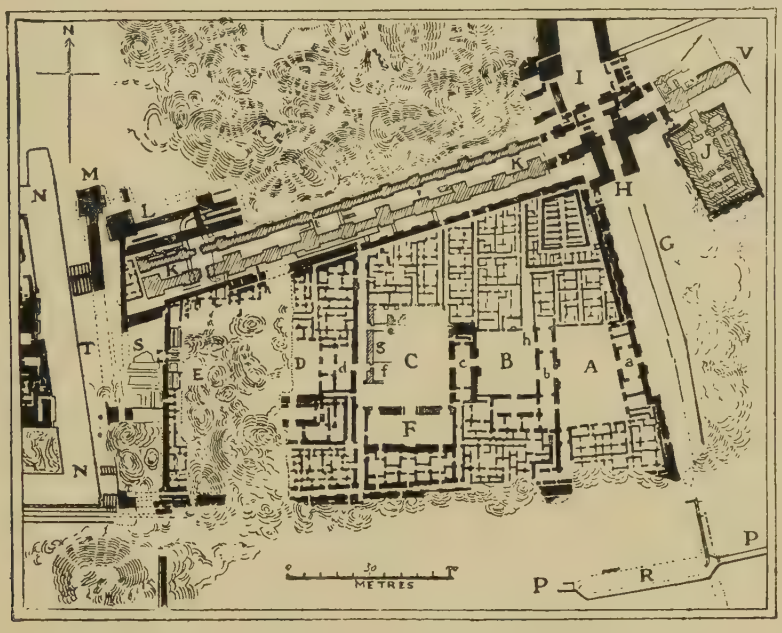
which Fitzgerald paraphrased so magnificently:

'They say the lion and the lizard keep
The halls where Jamshýd gloried and drank deep
And Bahrām, that great hunter, the wild ass
Stamps o'er his head but cannot break his sleep.'[1]

There to the left is the floor of the hall where Belshazzar must have held his feast, and where, according to the weird Jewish tradition, the writing of flame appeared upon the wall: MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN. There is nothing but its plan apparent; but that shews us what it was, undoubtedly the great hall or throne-room of Nebuchadrezzar's palace, where kings feasted and princes drank deep. Lions there are none at Babylon now, except the stone one in the Qaṣr; and there are none probably any more in all Babylonia. But Ker Porter saw three on the summit

[1] Fitzgerald's paraphrase is unhappily hackneyed, but Omar's Persian original may not be so familiar to many readers. For the literal rendering I am indebted to Mr. E. Edwards.

of Birs Nimrūd in 1818, and the last were seen, it is said, in the marshes of the Muntafiq, away to the south, forty years ago. The Mesopotamian lion, which the kings of Assyria hunted as we see on the Ninevite reliefs in the British Museum, is now as extinct as Ashurbanipal or Nebuchadrezzar themselves. And if any wild asses ever roamed over the mounds of Babylon they might conceivably have stamped o'er the head of Nabopolassar, at any rate; for Koldewey was convinced that a rich but plundered burial of a chief that he discovered at



39.—PLAN OF THE PALACE OF NEBUCHADREZZAR

A, B, C, Courts; F, Throne-room of Nebuchadrezzar; G, I, Aibur-shabu; H, Ishtar-Gate; J, Temple of Ninmakh; K, Great walls of crude-brick; S, Persian Building.

(King: *after* Koldewey, Reuter, and Wetzel)

the north-west corner of the palace at the foot of its northern boundary wall was that of no less a person than Nabopolassar himself, buried here in state in his palace by his son. It may be, though were it not that the position in which the grave was found argues the time of Nebuchadrezzar as its date, one would rather have deemed it the grave of some Parthian prince, like the many Parthian graves, with their lining and their pots of delicate 'crazed' blue faience, that we find amid the ruin of the palace. The Parthians treated it as a graveyard.

Mene, mene, tekel, u pharsin! 'A mina, a mina, a shekel, and two halves!' 'Counting, counting, weighing, and dividing!' 'God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. . . . Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. . . . Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. . . . In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Mede took the kingdom.' The author of the Book of Daniel calls Darius a Mede, but we know how the Greeks too (erroneously) regarded the terms Mede and Persian as synonymous. And he has forgotten Cyrus. But no doubt the fame of Cyrus, the Persian, was soon swallowed up in popular tradition by that of Darius, the Persian, son of Hystaspis, the Achaemenid.

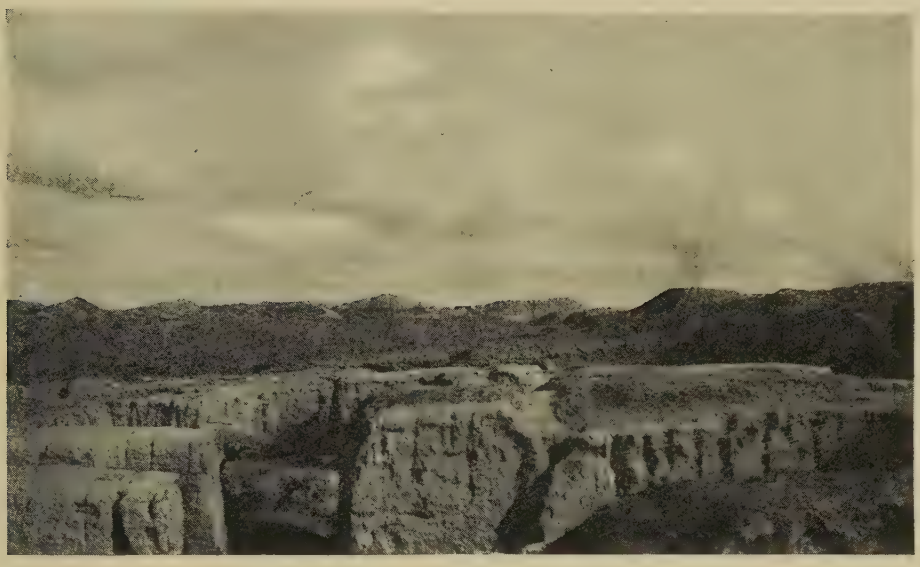
40.—NABOPOLASSAR'S ARCH, BABYLON

And away to the west beyond what Nebuchadrezzar left of his father's palace rises the site of the Āpadāna, the open hall of columns, like that at Persepolis, by which Darius, or some other Persian king, marked his dominion over Babylon.

Long parallel walls, two of them, of crude brick, partly dating back to Assyrian times and the reign of Sargon, partly of the two great Babylonian kings' building, from the north end of the Āpadāna to Aibursha bu north of the Hanging Gardens, divide the old and new palace from the Qaṣr, which is wholly of Nebuchadrezzar's building. On the east wall of the southern palace as we go southward along Aibursha bu, contemplating as we go the desolate field of ruins to our right, we see a bricked-up arch (Fig. 40), which with its accompanying wing-towers we know from the character of its bricks to be of Nabopolassar's building: a fragment of his father's work, probably an entrance to a great court in front of his palace, which Nebuchadrezzar preserved and incorporated in his own walls when he filled up the court with his own buildings and partly demolished the abode of his predecessor.

And now we descend, even as Aibursha bu itself did, but more abruptly,

with the temple of Ishtar (Fig. 41), very like that of Nin-makh, on our left, into the plain of the Ṣaḥn, or 'Bowl', where once part of the city stood that was swept away by an abrupt change of the course of the Euphrates that for a period cut off the great southern temples, Ē-temenanki and Ē-Sagila, from the palace. On the left, in the Markaz, or market, Koldewey was able to excavate some of the streets of the city untouched by the river, and obtained not only antiquities going back to the time of Ḥammurabi (*c.* 1920 B.C.), but also disturbed relics of a much earlier age, the flint and chert flakes, some serrated, that were the tools of the Sumerian of the



41.—THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR, BABYLON

Chalcolithic period (before 3500 B.C.): such stone tools as are commonly found at al-'Ubaid and Shahrain, as we shall see. Oddly in his book he calls them 'palaeolithic': they were, of course, nothing of the sort, and it is indeed curious to find so elementary an error in a German archaeological work. But Koldewey was primarily an architect, and his archaeological knowledge evidently did not extend to the antiquities of the Stone Age.

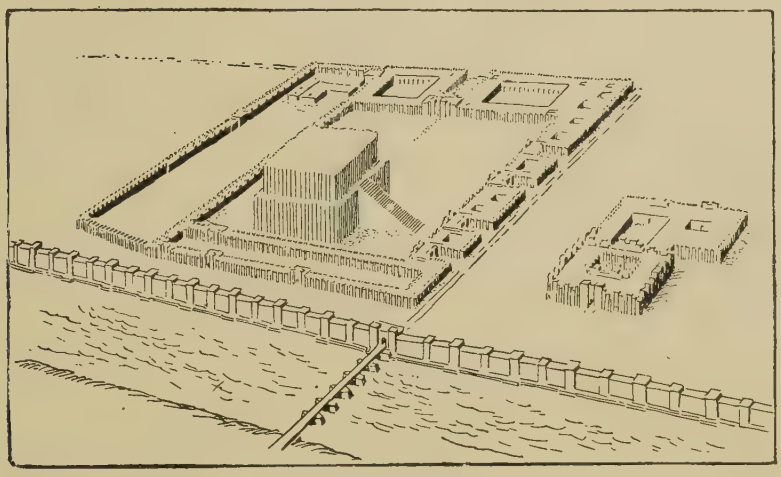
In front of us is the great temenos of Ē-temenanki (Fig. 43), the temple of Bel, with the base of its great square tower, surrounded by a ditch now filled with water and giving the impression of a moat (Fig.

42). This tower, not Birs, is the veritable 'Tower of Babel'; but its squat, though vast, outline is rather dull: it has not the eerie attraction of Birs, with its fire-riven and vitrified tower, so that lovers of the picturesque will no doubt prefer to go on believing, in spite of the facts, that the temple of Nabu at Borsippa is the temple of Bel at Babylon. To the right is Nabopolassar's bridge, already mentioned: in front rises the round hill of Imām 'Amrān-ibn-'Alī. Walking up a deep cutting in the eastern half of the hillside we turn a corner and come out into the huge excavation, seventy feet deep, in which Koldewey found the traces of Ē-Sagila, the temple of Marduk, the holiest sanctuary of Babel. Confronted with the enormous accumulation of earth above the temple he was obliged to continue his work by means of tunnels and galleries resembling those to which Haynes had to have recourse at Niffer (see below, p. 64), and with equally unsatisfactory result. A great deal still remains to be cleared up with regard to this temple.

42.—THE REMAINS OF THE 'TOWER OF BABEL' (Ē-TEMENANKI)

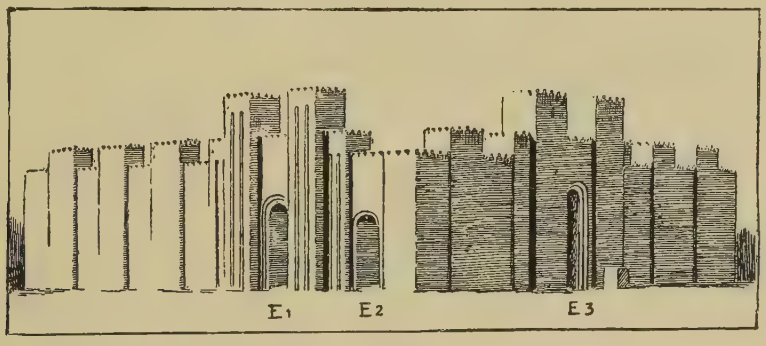
Ascending the hill near the tomb-mosque of Marduk's modern *avatar* and successor, ''Amrān son of 'Alī', but not too near, for fear of exciting Shī'ah susceptibilities, we look southward. In front of us is the tract known as Ishīn aswad, with two more crude-brick temples, those of the god Enurta (Ē-patutila) and an unknown deity whom we call 'Z': very like those of Ishtar and Nin-makh externally, with white crude brick walls and chambers, which we must imagine arched and flat-roofed if we are to gain some idea of their original appearance. Beyond them, Babylon ceases, and probably never extended further in this direction. The great walls here ran across the plain from the east to the river at the modern

village of Jamjamah. Here their base degenerated into formless mounds. Looking eastward to the railway we see them taking form, and the double inner wall (as it is now) running N.N.W. with the railway parallel to but



43.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF Ē-TEMENANKI AND Ē-SAGILA
(King: *after* Koldewey and Andrāe)

outside it, to the point beyond the artificial hill of Ḥumaira, where it turned left, and was confined in the walls still existing between the Qaṣr and the southern palace, which we have already described. At this point the



44.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF TEMPLE 'Z'
(King: *after* Koldewey and Andrāe)

Euphrates, having changed its course at the bend south of Babil (which existed in Nebuchadrezzar's time and before him, and exists again now that the river has resumed, more or less, its original direction a little further west) broke through the wall, probably in Persian times, and swept it away,

afterwards, as we have seen, finding a new course through the middle of the city south of the palace and rejoining its ancient bed north of the bridge. The inner wall then ceases abruptly at its north-east corner, where the red mound of Ḥumaira, the pyre of Hephaistion, rises (Fig. 48). Looking across the railway we see the southern wall continuing its course north-east now, as an outer wall, at a sharp corner it turns north-west and runs, the far-flung outer wall of the city straight as an arrow for three-and-a-half kilometres to the east corner of the enceinte of Babīl, which from the height of Imām 'Amrān we can see in the distance appearing above the ruins of the palace and Qaṣr. This outer wall was no doubt built by Nebuchadrezzar

45.—BABĪL

in connexion with his erection of Babīl, nearly doubling the area included within the city. The older inner double wall, which was probably built by Sargon the Assyrian (no doubt on the foundation of older walls) was known by the names of Imgur-Bel (the inner) and Nimitti-Bel (the outer).

Babīl rises, two kilometres from Ḳwairesh, beyond the bend where the Euphrates comes in from the north-west and turns southward, where once, as we have seen, it broke its 'bunds' and poured down upon the city, devastating its low-lying parts and forming the Ṣaḥn. The visitor can do little but wonder at its size, and can make even less of it than Koldewey and his predecessors have done, and that is little. It is a mighty mass of

brickwork, on which stood a palace. It was piled up by Nebuchadrezzar. And now it is a chaos of tumbled walls (Buckingham's 'Mujelibe'), overwhelmed with sand, and from among its bricks stick out the layers of reedstems and basket-work which here were used (perhaps by the builders of a Parthian fortress on the top of its ruin) in layers between the courses of bricks. Babīl has been for centuries an inexhaustible source of bricks for the whole countryside. They are much more easily disengaged here than in the Qaṣr, and Ḥillah is built of them.

Babīl marks the northernmost point of Babylon. Looking south from it we see the whole extent of the ancient city, with its inner and outer walls to where they pass behind the hill of 'Amrān-ibn-'Ali. Babylon was never bigger than this; Borsippa, with its tower, formed no part of it (though we may if we please regard it as a distant suburb, at any rate in late times): Kish (Uḥaimir; 'the-reddish') which from Ḥumaira we see rising, a red hillock on the flat, featureless plain, nine miles away, certainly never did. Herodotus gave us all far too great an idea of the size of the city. Yet it is great enough, judged even by modern standards, extending nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres from north to south and over $2\frac{1}{2}$ from west to east at its greatest extent under Nebuchadrezzar and the Persians. Judged by ancient standards it was enormous, being much bigger than Egyptian Thebes, which, too, was probably not so thickly inhabited, and probably was as now rather a number of villages connected by gardens and villas and temples than a closely built city like Babylon. And even in its older form under the Assyrians, before Nebuchadrezzar took it in hand, it covered a rough rhomboid of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres each way, which itself was a large city in ancient days, when men lived together like animals in warrens, and occupied less space even than they do now in the most closely packed of Oriental cities.

In the museum of the German house at Ḳwairesh lay some at least of the antiquities discovered in the course of the excavations. Some had gone to Constantinople, some to Berlin. In 1917 Koldewey was still working away almost till he could hear the sound of the British guns. Then when Baghdad was about to fall, and he feared internment in India if he awaited our coming, he hastily packed and departed, sending off as many boxes as he could of antiquities by *mahaila* up the Euphrates. Some of these cases are said to have gained Constantinople, others were seen

dumped on the foreshore at Anah or Hit. Whether their contents are now at Baghdad or were returned to Babylon before my arrival I do not know. Koldewey is said to have driven across the desert to Syria in an *'arabah*. It is to be regretted that he should have left. Had he remained, going on with his work amid the people who knew him until the British arrived, it is possible that he and Dr. Buddensieg might have been interned at Ahmednagar (though more probably they would have been honourably permitted to inspect the antiquities of India at their leisure), and even possible that they would have been allowed to go on with their work at Babylon undisturbed: but at any rate the damage done to the house after his departure would have been avoided. The devotion of his raïses preserved the contents of the museum, while the antiquities scattered in the small magazines and the rooms of the house were found by me in a better condition than might have been expected. It is not always that during such *interregna* in war-time, when the sense of *meum* and *tuum* is blunted, so little untoward happens. The museum was later on walled up and sealed, at the instigation of Miss Gertrude Bell, after her arrival as representative of the Arab Bureau. The inner house was also walled up, only the outer court and guest rooms being kept open for visitors. The seals were taken off and the walls broken down for me to make my inspection. The objects of various kinds, tablets and so forth, were still ranged on the shelves of the museum as the excavators had left them, and on the table lay a terracotta in process of being repaired. I recognized many objects I knew from Koldewey's book, notably the clay tablet illustrated by his Fig. 159, on which is an incised sketch of a fight between a lion and a boar, and the Persian inscription

46.—AT THE GERMAN HOUSE, KWAIRESH

from the Āpadāna (*ibid.*, Fig. 78), to name only two instances. There were also the fragments of an alabaster Egyptian vase with an inscription of King Psammetichus I, and many other things, quite safe. The living-rooms of the house itself had, however, suffered at the hands of native looters a wild *Verwüstung*, as their owners would have called it. Furniture and household utensils, boxes and books, ruined photographic material, newspapers and magazines, were all scattered about, and a pile of rubbish in one room was pathetically crowned by the celluloid high collar and *Manschetten*, or cuffs, of one of the excavators (uncomfortable things to wear in Mesopotamia!), for which obviously the Arabs had no use. From the wall looked down upon them crookedly the text: **'Der Herr ist mein Hirt, da werde ich nichts mangeln'.** In another room an university Corps or *Landsmannschaft* shield with the usual flaming monogram and flourish and mark of admiration after it, F! or something equally cabalistic, reminded me ruefully of happier days at Kiel and Marburg a.d. Lahn, before German influence had supplanted ours at Istanbūl, and when Germany was (more or less) still our friend. *Prosit, Herr Doktor, unbekannt!* How stupid war is, is it not? Well, we have both realized that fact, I think. I hope you got some beer at Aleppo!

Apart from collar and cuffs which did not appeal to them, it was probably clothing that took the looters' fancy most, as a trunk that had been forced open contained only a few torn remnants. Books had naturally been no attraction, and seemed to be mostly in good order, including many notebooks of the excavations, tracings, &c. I was told that a certain number of antiquities in the rooms, and especially small figurines in a sorting and mending room or magazine, had been looted by the Arabs, but on the whole I was surprised to find so many good *antīkas* left in this part of the house, as the natives would, of course, be well aware of their value in the Baghdad bazaar. I conclude that we have to thank 'Amrān and the other raïses that this is so. On the verandah stood the basalt inscribed stone of King Adad-nirari I of Assyria, figured by Koldewey (Fig. 105 of his *Wieder erstehende Babylon*), which was either a war-trophy of Nabopolassar's or had been collected by the archaeologically-minded king Nabonidus. Also a trachyte tripod bowl (his Fig. 179); besides many other things. In the court under a pent-house, only supported by warped wooden pillars and sagging badly (Fig.

47), were a large number of boxes filled chiefly with enamelled bricks from the Ishtar Gate and Aibursha bu: at my recommendation Major Tyler re-roofed it, after I had left, with galvanized iron to keep the rain off them. Otherwise, with the exception of a stone statue in a sack, there was nothing in the court that was worth putting under cover. The heaps of stone catapult-balls, relics of many ancient sieges of the great city, had been where they were for many years and could come to no harm, nor could the great paving-slabs of *turminabanda* from Aibursha bu.

I spent a good deal of my time in inventorying the contents of the house for Baghdad, and before I left all was sealed up again, even each individual room, with the Political Officer's seal. The museum was bricked up once more, the penthouse roofed, and then the door between the two courts also bricked up, and so remained until in 1923 Miss Gertrude Bell and Mr. J. M. Wilson, then in charge of antiquities and public buildings respectively, examined the place, in order to decide on the question of the retention there of the antiquities[1] or their transport to Baghdad and their eventual division between the new Museum there, in which Miss Bell was so keenly interested, and the Germans. Mr. Wilson's recollection tallies with mine as to the state of the house, and especially as to that of the museum, which he says was, except for its roof, in good order, with the objects on the shelves, as I have described. This again is the recollection of Mr. Sidney Smith, who saw the museum soon after, before it was walled up again after necessary repairs.

47.—COURTYARD OF THE GERMAN HOUSE, KWAIRESH

So all remained until in the autumn of 1926, Dr. Andrae, the former excavator of Ashur (Qala'at Sherqat), came from Berlin at the invitation of Miss Bell, to examine the relics of the German work and divide the

[1] In my official report to Baghdad I had advocated the retention of the minor antiquities at Babylon and making the house a combined rest-house for students and local museum.

antiquities with the 'Iraq Government, in accordance with the law. His account of his visit will be found in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 65 (April 1927), p. 7 ff.; from which it will appear that the condition of things seven years later was much as I have described above. When, however, he says: 'We broke down the one door of the "Museum", and realized the lamentable condition of the unpacked finds; they were scattered about all over the place, and partly wet through with rain that had come through the roof',[1] he would, I think, be more appropriately describing the conditions, in 1919 and still later, not in the 'Museum' proper but in the rest of the house (though of course I do not know what the roof of the Museum was like in 1926). I repeat that it is an extraordinary thing that in lawless southern 'Iraq in war-time the contents of the 'Museum' were preserved, more or less, intact from the day of Koldewey's flight to that of the first walling-up at Miss Bell's instigation. That during that time when it was open to all to enter, some of the stupider and more ignorant type of British or Indian soldier, whether officer or man, may have pocketed an occasional small 'souvenir' from its shelves, is possible enough; but that is a very different thing from the general looting of which our officers were at first accused by some Germans in the days of 'war-psychosis', and of which, I am happy to say, we find no mention in Dr. Andrae's account. The contents of the Museum may then have been a little disturbed; but the 'unfriendly ignorant hands' that had 'durchwühlt' and 'verstreut' the objects *in the other rooms*, lying 'wüst durcheinander', were not British, and I am glad that Dr. Andrae does not think they were.

I had left Baghdad after a week's stay, on 15 January, and, my further week's exploration and study of Babylon, and the inventory of the contents of the German house concluded, and the needful work there decided upon, on the 23rd I returned to Baghdad, from 'Babylon Halt'. Again in the clanking train, but this time by day, and in company with a couple of American civilians who presumably had something to do with canteens or the Y.M.C.A. On the way, at Musaiyib, we passed one of the caravans of the dead, Persian pilgrims bearing to their graves

[1] 'Wir hackten die eine "Museums"-Tür auf und stellten den verzweifelten Zustand der unverpackten Funde fest: sie waren durchwühlt, verstreut und zum Teil vom undichten Dach durchnässt. Einiges andere lag in anderen Räumen wüst durcheinander. Viele unfreundliche oder unverständige Hände sind da am Werke gewesen' (*l.c.*, p. 12).

in the holy cities of Najaf and Kerbelā the sun-dried (let us hope) corpses of their pious Shi'ah relatives on camel-back, with their wives and children perched atop of the bales containing the corpses. A character-

48.—BABYLON HALT, WITH THE HUMAIRA MOUND IN THE DISTANCE

istic sight of 'Iraq. At Baghdad I found Colonel Wilson returned, and discussed my plans of excavation with him. After a day's rush to

49.—HILLAH–BACHDAD TRAIN APPROACHING BABYLON HALT

Babylon and back (this time in a comfortable military motor-trolly) to exhibit the ruins to the Rev. Prof. Margoliouth of Oxford, then at Baghdad, and a couple of interested 'red-tabs', I finally left on 28

January, a fine but cold day, for Babylon. This time again in a motor-trolly on the railway, driven by a British soldier, and accompanied by a newly-recruited Goanese cook, 'Sousa' (as I called him), as well as my Arab servant. Arrived at 'Babylon Halt', my kit and followers and I were transferred to two Fords, with Burmese drivers, kindly sent out by the Political Officer at Ḥillah, and the trolly went back to Baghdad. Soon we were driving round the southern outskirts of Babylon, between the Qaṣr and the temple of Marduk, bumping and jumping a bit, and then passed on the right the low wall and palm-trees of the village of Ḳwairesh, turned

50.—MY 'STAFF': ON A TROLLY TO BABYLON

sharply left to the river, and again pulled up in front of the outer gate of the rest-house to find 'Amrān salaaming as before.

With the zealous help of Brigadier-General Costello I soon got to work. Lieut. Cable, the architect-officer, whom Colonel Wilson had attached to me to supervise the repairs that I proposed and to report on Birs Nimrūd, arrived next day. General Costello lent me some men of the 43rd (Erinpura) Light Infantry, an Indian battalion in garrison at Ḥillah, under a British subaltern, to carry out our work. We first turned to the Ishtar Gate, which as I have said was being seriously undermined by infiltration of water. We drained off the water which lay at the foot of the brickwork, and banked up earth at an angle of 45° round the towers in

order to prevent any further contact of water with them (Fig. 271). Infiltration below can presumably not be prevented. Then came the bigger work of buttressing the great wall on the northern side of Nebuchadrezzar's palace and of conserving the platform of the Great Hall (the 'Throne-Room of Belshazzar').

The first task was necessitated by the fact that the burnt brick facing of Imgur-Bel, the crude brick wall on the north (Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*, Fig. 92) had been exposed by the Germans below its foundations in order to shew the old Euphrates mud and silt on which the wall was laid. Water was eating into the substratum, and if this were not checked, it would only be a question of when the whole wall, which is one of the finest and most perfectly preserved at Babylon, would fall forward and be destroyed. We therefore filled up the excavation to a level of two or three feet above the beginning of the wall, with two small earth buttresses at an angle of 45°, leaving a gap in the middle in order to shew the foundation as the German archaeologists intended.

51.—ERINPURA L.I. WORKING AT BABYLON

The second work was needed in order to preserve the floor of 'Belshazzar's Hall', which was being washed away by rains. To preserve it in its original dimensions would have involved the determination of the position of the original foundations and building a wall up to the floor level, and filling up the washed away space. There were serious archaeological objections to building a proper wall out of old materials, and a wall of modern brickwork or concrete would have been unsightly; moreover the cost of such a wall and of the filling would, in the then state of 'Iraqi finances, have been prohibitive. It was, therefore, not found possible to do more than fill up the gaps and fissures in the platform caused by rain, and stop their ends in order to preserve the area of the room as far as it remained:

the question of building a revetment round it on the original wall-foundations we left to be considered later when there should be money available for the purpose.

Mr. Cable also found that it was necessary to conserve a portion of the pavement of the lower level of the Sacred Way. The pavement was overhanging a deep excavation near the Ishtar Gate, the earth below having crumbled or fallen away. A support of broken brick and mud was therefore built up underneath it.

This was all that, with the limited means and time at our disposal, we were able to do. It shewed at least that the Civil Administration was not unmindful of its responsibilities in the matter of the conservation of ancient buildings, and took the opportunity to do the little they could, when the fog of war had hardly yet begun to clear away, to meet the most pressing needs of Babylon.

After my departure from 'Iraq, Mr. J. M. Wilson, A.R.I.B.A., started the Public Works Department of the new country, and was entrusted by Colonel A. T. Wilson with the carrying out of the various recommendations that I had made. Mr. Cable was transferred to Mr. Wilson's department and under him he carried on this work of preservation. In order to safeguard the Ishtar Gate as far as possible, it was surrounded by a warlike entanglement of barbed wire. The work of filling in the fissures in the floor of Belshazzar's hall was continued and attention was given to this periodically to avoid erosion as much as possible. The largest work of archaeological preservation undertaken by the 'Iraq Government was, however, on the Arch of Ctesiphon. In 1890 one of the wing walls of the great palace fell. It is rumoured that this collapse was caused, or at least hastened by the Turks or the local inhabitants. In its fall it carried away a considerable portion of the arch itself. The other wing wall had become badly eroded at its base and was inclined very considerably from the perpendicular. The crown of the arch was also showing serious signs of decay and the whole structure appeared to be in a precarious condition. The Public Works Department under Mr. Wilson's direction excavated to the foundations of the wing wall, about 14 feet below ground level, and put in a massive solid concrete base up to a height of about 7 feet above the ground, thus filling the eroded base to the wall. The outside crown of the arch or vault was cleaned of the dirt and debris of

ages and the exposed brickwork was carefully grouted in with cement. A layer of concrete about 4 feet thick was then spread over the crown. The whole area round the Arch was enclosed by a concrete and wire fence. A sum of about Rs60,000 was spent on this work at Ctesiphon alone. I am indebted for the above account of his work to Mr. Wilson personally.[1]

Returning to Babylon and its neighbourhood, I should add that Al-Burs or Birs 'Nimrūd' also demanded attention, since Captain Thompson in the previous year had reported that it would be well were the remains of the tower looked to. Accordingly on 3 February, Captain Tyler, Mr. Cable, and I went there with 'Amrān to inspect the ruins. We came to the conclusion that there was no immediate need of any reparation or conservation work, and afterwards Mr. Wilson came to the same conclusion; but eventually, unless something is done to make its foundation secure, the strange jagged tooth of brick that is all that remains of the ziggurat of Borsippa may fall one fine day. I used to have lively discussions with General Costello about this tower, which he held, as many do, and have done since the seventh century, to be the veritable 'Tower of Babel' of Scripture. I am afraid that this view cannot stand. The Tower of Babel must be the tower of the temple Ē-Sagila at Babylon itself, as I have said, the stump of which still stands surrounded by its 'moat' amid the ruins of the great city. That Birs was consumed by fire like Tell al-Muqayyar and many other Chaldaean temples, is true enough. At Birs the conflagration was particularly fierce, and its fierceness may be gauged from the fact that its brickwork is partly vitrified, converted into slag by the flames. One

52.—THE VITRIFIED WALLS, BIRS NIMRŪD

[1] An interesting account of the existing ancient buildings of 'Iraq in 1919–20, and of their condition from an architect's point of view, kindly placed at my disposal by the author, is given by Mr. E. Prioleau Warren, F.S.A., in an article in the *Architectural Journal*, 1920–2, p. 405 ff., entitled 'Mesopotamia: Architectural Impressions of a Recent Tour'. Mr. Warren went out to 'Iraq to inspect sites for war-graves, and incidentally visited all the chief ancient remains.

wonders how so savage a flame could have been kindled round a building of its size and why it burnt so fiercely. My own idea is that the tower was consumed by a fire of piled-up brushwood soaked in crude oil. Crude petroleum could have been obtained from Elam then as now, and there is no reason why the fire should not have been fed with it, with the result of converting the brickwork into slag. Great masses of the vitrified walls lie about, and the remaining 'tooth' should be preserved, if possible, as an 'attraction to visitors', as many are convinced that it is the Tower of Babel, and it is one of the 'sights' of 'Iraq. Rawlinson excavated there in 1854, and Koldewey had recently, before the war, uncovered part of the temple of Nabu below.

53.—A *MAHAILA* AT HILLAH

Meanwhile, my preparations for departure to Ur and its region were proceeding apace. Arrangements had been made with the military authorities, and, at Colonel Wilson's suggestion, General Sir G. MacMunn had most kindly placed at my disposal for digging a force of seventy Turkish prisoners-of-war, as many as possible men who had already had experience of excavation in Asia Minor and Macedonia. They had nothing to do, and might just as well earn a little money for themselves by this work as not. I had borrowed a number of empty boxes for packing, and some tools and so forth, from the German house by permission from the Political Service, the tools under promise of return at the close of the work, a promise faithfully performed. These were to be loaded on a *mahaila* or sailing-barge for conveyance to Naṣiriyyah, with 'Amrān and three other raïses, Muḥammad 'Amrān, Shakr 'Amrān, and 'Abūd Kunbār, from Ḳwairesh. They remained with me and 'Amrān throughout the work; Shakr, an old man, being a specially clever and most useful digger. I was to go by car, piloted by Moung Pin, the better of my two Burmese chauffeurs, with Sousa my cook and my baggage. My Ḥillāwi servant refused to go to the Muntafiq

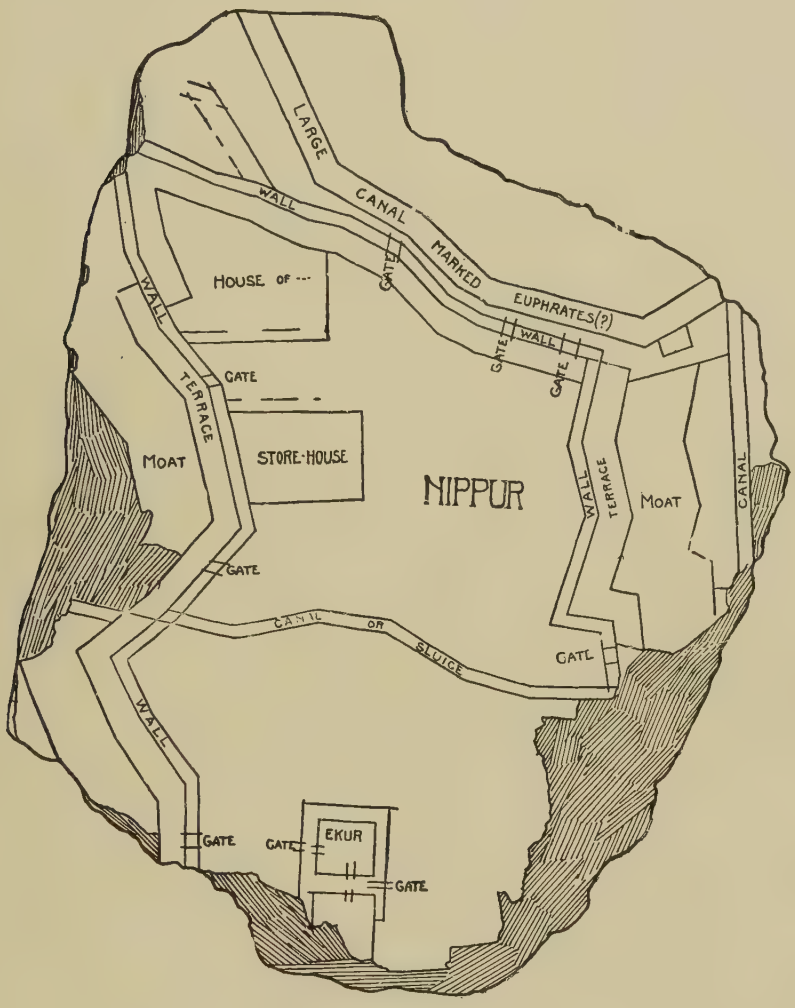
country, and with Sousa and a possible Turkish soldier-servant from among the prisoners, I did not need him.

On the 5th of February, my preparations being complete, I saw my boxes loaded on the boat at Ḳwairesh and placed in charge of 'Amrān to bring to Naṣirīyyah, and then left with my two Ford cars for Ḥillah. There I formally handed over the work at Babylon to General Costello, and next morning Captain Tyler and I left, with our little procession of three cars, for Dīwānīyah, Tyler leading the way and driving his own Dodge with me as passenger, while the Burmans followed with the others We passed the site of the railway bridge that was soon to

54.—THE KONAK, DĪWĀNĪYAH

be, and then past endless palm-groves with an occasional glimpse of the river, till we arrived at the bridge opposite Dīwānīyah and crossed to the other bank to the Konak, where we were first challenged by a pair of highly-opinionated geese, and then met by Tyler's colleague, the Political Officer, Captain C. K. Daly, to whose good offices Tyler commended me *en bon camarade*. We found that Daly was as keen as possible on archaeology, as soon as he discovered that he had somebody to deal with who was really supposed to know something about it. He had been pestered to death by predatory brigadier-generals of souvenir-hunting propensities, who wanted to annex portable antiquities, and by serious colonels with

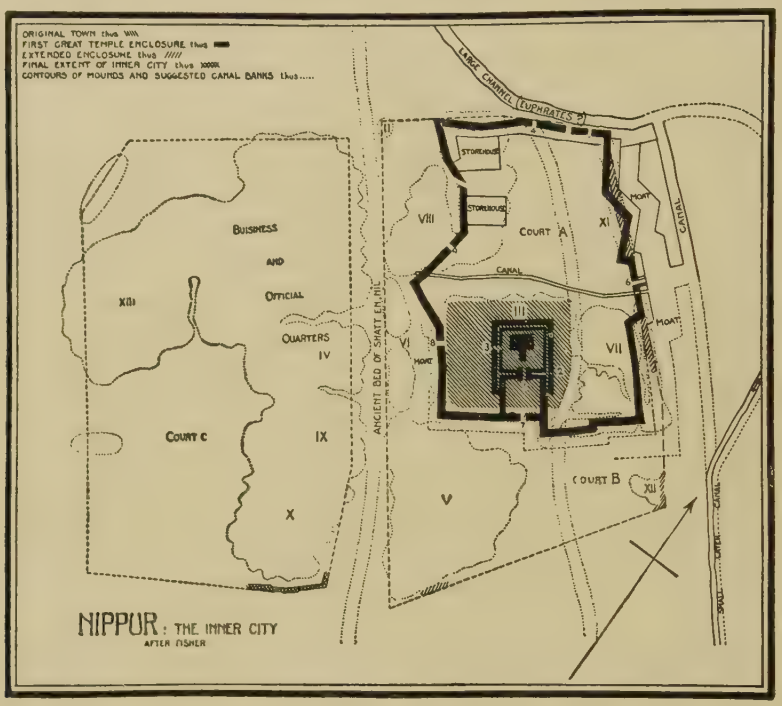
views on the Garden of Eden (the kind of colonels who 'are Methodist, married, or mad', according to Kipling), who wanted to be allowed to dig wherever they liked. So he was anxious to meet some one who could tell what sort of control should be exercised, or conservation work be under-



55.—ANCIENT PLAN OF NIPPUR ON A CLAY TABLET
(The Cuneiform descriptions replaced by English) (*After* King)

taken at Nippur and other sites in his district. Accordingly, the weather being fine, that same afternoon, leaving Sousa behind, in two cars we went out eastward to Sūq al-'Afēj, the nearest town to Nuffar or Niffer (as Nippur is now called, the ancient name having survived—since the sound *p* is

unknown in Arabic—unchanged), intending to visit the ruins the next day. It was a risky proceeding at the beginning of February, owing to the danger of rain and its result, impassable mud, if, as was the case with me, one was in a hurry. And, sure enough, no sooner had we reached 'Afēj than the rain came down in torrents, and I have a vivid recollection of what was, despite the cheeriness of my companions, probably one of the most sodden, mournful, and miserable days of my life, marooned in pouring rain and squelching mud in a miserable little hut at Sūq al-'Afēj, which, to say the least of it,



56.—PLAN OF NIPPUR
(King, *after* Fisher. *Compare the ancient plan, Fig.* 55

did not look its best as a 'county town' under such conditions. Towards evening, however, after twenty-four hours solid downpour, it gave over, and Sūq al-'Afēj shewed its brilliant illumination of street lights, which the reforming energy of the Political Officer had installed even here 'out in the blue'. It reminded me of the 'front' of Clacton-on-Sea! Next day was fine and delightful, and the journey in a *bellam*, with its awning and its picturesque carved prow, *à la Cleopatra* on the Cydnus, up the reedy local canal, and the ensuing ride or walk to Nippur, was an experience as pleasant

as the previous day had been wretched. But on the return to Dīwānīyah on the following day the Fords stuck in the mud, and only the strenuous energy of Daly and his vigorous impressment of all and sundry from the nearby fields to help, extricated us from the slough of despond.

Nippur was one of the most important cities of ancient Babylon. It was situated just on the borderline between the lands of Sumer to the south and Akkad to the north. Its god, Enlil, was afterwards called by the conquering Semites by the divine name Bel, and was in some ways the principal deity of Babylonia, so that later when under Ḫammurabi the city of Babylon became the capital, he was identified with Marduk, the god of

57.—THE EXCAVATED TEMPLE, NIPPUR

Babylon, as Bel-Marduk (Merodach). At Nippur, however, in his temple Ē-kur he continued to be Enlil alone, and was generally known even in quite late times by his Sumerian name (Ellil).

Niffer, like Ur and also Kish (Tell Uḥaimir), is a huge site, and it was interesting to note what a small impression the many years' excavating work of the American expedition seemed to have made upon it. The Americans really did an enormous amount, yet there is much more to do there, and it is to be hoped that if at any time the present happy co-operation of the Museum of the University of Philadelphia with the British Museum comes to an end (and may this be long distant!) Philadelphia will return to her first love, Nippur, which awaits her completing spade. The excavation of the Bint al-'Amīr, the tell covering not only the ziggurrat of

the temple of Enlil, but a great fortress built by the Parthians on the top of that, was a gigantic work, such as happily does not confront us at Ur, where the ziggurrat stands and has always stood naked and free from debris, four-square to all the winds that blow over the desert and keep it clean and dry. Ē-kur has been covered for many centuries, and heavily built over as well, and the result was a long and expensive work of years for the Americans. As uncovered now, however, the temple is an impressive sight (though perhaps photographs make it look even more impressive than it really is), and gives a good idea of the complicated type of excavation followed by the American diggers, with its undercut mining-galleries, its corridors and tunnels, its earth-cut steps for the workmen, its arches to support higher strata that it was desired to preserve, and so forth. It looks rather like a cross between a Kimberley diamond-mine and a fantastic gnome's castle of Sime's devising. Hilprecht describes it (*Explorations*, p. 375) as looking 'as picturesque and attractive as possible, while in reality it presents a picture of utter confusion and devastation to the archæologist'. This is for him to say, not for others. The site is no doubt a very difficult one to dig. In two parts the temple-area was dug out by Hilprecht's predecessors down to the virgin soil, in others the pre-Sargonic level, in another the level of the 'platform of Ur-Engur', has been preserved. The ziggurrat was constantly repaired and added to anciently, and Ashurbanipal gave it a great revetment-wall. All these additions rendered the problem of excavation extraordinarily complicated and expensive to a degree which happily we are not likely to reach at Ur. At the same time the working-out of the original plan of a place like Niffer, and the tracing of its successive re-builds and additions, must be extremely interesting. We may have something of the sort to deal with when, if ever, we tackle Shahrain, which also is covered up with debris

58.—THE BINT AL-'AMĪR, NIPPUR

and probably was many times added to, though it is hardly likely to have received so much care and been so thoroughly altered as the shrine of Enlil, the most holy place and religious centre of Babylonia.

I found the temple apparently very much as the Americans had left it, in much better preservation than I expected, considering the lapse of time (sixteen years) since they had ceased to excavate. Their *maṣṭūl*, or fortified house (characteristic of the district) was also in good condition. Only one piece of conservation seemed urgently necessary. Part of Ashurbanipal's wall [1] had been seriously undermined by water, and was in danger of falling. This would have caused irreparable damage to the ziggurrat, and accordingly Capt. Daly decided to build a wall of support, which was done shortly after I left. He also built buttresses to support two or three columns of the 'Parthian palace' [2] (in another part of the mounds, not far off) which also were in danger of falling.

59.—THE PARTHIAN (?) BUILDING WITH COLUMNS, NIPPUR

A good idea of the mounds of Niffer can be obtained from the relief-plan illustrated by Hilprecht,[3] which shews the dry bed of an ancient canal dividing them into two, with the Bint al-'Amīr (so-called no doubt from the legend of a palace of an 'Amīr's daughter connected with the Parthian fortress-ruins on its summit) on the right, and the Parthian palace (?) on the left. It is interesting to compare the sketch-plan of Nippur (above, Fig. 56) with the ancient plan on a clay tablet (Fig. 55), on which

[1] Illustrated by Hilprecht, *Excavations in Bible Lands*, p. 368.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 337–40. The question may now be raised whether this is a Parthian palace at all, since we know from the work at al-'Ubaid that a primitive columnar door-post was used by the Sumerians, and Sumerian columns have been found at Telloh, Ur, and Kish (see p. 113).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

the cuneiform descriptions have been replaced by English, for clearness' sake.

We retraced our steps to Sūq al-'Afēj, and on the afternoon of our return to Dīwānīyah Tyler set off on his journey back to Ḥillah, and Daly took me round the town, to see his improvements. And he had tidied the place up wonderfully. Dīwānīyah was the cleanest town I ever saw in 'Iraq: even the bazaar was literally spotless. It was too good to be true, but it was true. It was a good-looking place, with its quite imposing Konak, its fort-like Shabāna (militia) barracks flying the Union Jack, and its mud-brick walls with scattered palms beyond, and I preferred it to

60.—A FORTIFIED SHAIKH'S HOUSE (*MAFṬŪL*), NEAR NIPPUR

61.—THE WALLS OF DĪWĀNĪYAH

such places as Rumaithah and Samāwah, which I saw next: they seemed so shut in by their jungly palm-woods; steamy and unhealthy they looked

in comparison, though immeasurably superior to the miserable Tigris towns, with their treeless banks of arid mud, past which I had steamed for so many weary days on the way from Baṣrah to Baghdad.

Next day I parted from my host and then southward again with my two Fords only, and Moung Pin at the wheel, beguiling the way in excellent English about Rangoon and the Shwē Dagōn, *hpūngyis*, and *pwēs*, and *Nats*, monks, plays, and fairies. Moung Pin was a born actor, and once in the middle of a discussion about Burmese beliefs, he took both hands from the wheel, and for a moment contorted himself into the precise attitude of a *Nat*. A second later he had recovered the wheel. Many comparisons he made between Burma and Mesopotamia, by no means to the advantage of the latter: in fact the Burmese troops did not like 'Mespot' at all, or Moslems. 'They are all savages, sir'; and so I fear the poor 'Irāqi peasants were in comparison with even this lowly disciple of the Buddha, Private Moung Pin, heir to the civilizations of both India and China.

An occasional shaikh's tomb or a military signpost was all that was to be seen on the way, which took to the desert to avoid the endless palm-groves along the river. Then a sudden turn to the left, a marvellously avoided collision with a train of camels that not only were not used to cars, but had no intention of getting used to them, much vociferation and mutual abuse by Arab and Burman, a sharp descent and a clattering and rumbling over a wooden bridge into Rumaithah, embowered in palms. There I found an A.P.O. from Egypt, with whom I compared notes. He talked Egyptian Arabic and found the local lingo exasperating: the natives, however, rather admired his Cairene accent and exotic locutions. After hospitality, out again over the bridge, and turn sharp left for Samâwah.

We now left the desert margin for a tract of tilled land, covered with water at flood-time, where the two streams of the Euphrates, the Ḥillah and the Hindiya branches, approached their junction. The road now gave out, and we had to find our way across muddy fields in the general direction of the ferry over the Hindiya branch at Wāwiya that would take us to Samāwah. We had to ask our way, and there was nobody to ask it from. Finally I perceived a man engaged on some work or other, and near him a small boy. We stopped, I alighted and went forward to interview the small boy. He was at once convulsed with terror, and only answered my questions with howls. My Mesopotamian Arabic refused to come at call,

I fear, and I must have relapsed partly into Egyptian, for he could not understand anything of my mixed talk, and only howled. The howls became shrieks, as he cowered before me. I desisted, and looked for the man. He had taken alarm, dropped his hoe, and was scuttling away over the fields. This was very different from the easy confidence of the shepherd-boys at Birs Nimrūd or anywhere else further north, and I did not like it. I felt a subtle difference in the atmosphere here: there was fear in the air. At Dīwānīyah everybody had been quick to answer and polite, though not as friendly as at Ḥillah or Babylon. But at Rumaithah I had not liked the slanging-match between my chauffeurs and the Arab camel-drivers, and the tone of the place had seemed strained and excited. Now there was fear in the air. We could get no information, and by casting here and there, sought for the road, only to stick in the mud. The wheels revolved, but could get no grip. By dint of chains round the wheels and hefty shoving we at last got clear, and we lurched on. Then appeared, to shew that we were going in the right direction, the half-finished stretches of embankment being piled up across the flood region for the new railway from Naṣirīyyah to Ḥillah. We followed them, and aided by half-understood directions from the South Indian coolie-gang working on them, eventually reached the ferry near Wāwīya, close beside which the first spans of the Imām 'Abdu'llah railway-bridge were being hoisted into position. Here we stuck again in the mud, and were bogged more deeply than before. But Moung Pin being sent on to the bridge, returned with one of the British railway engineers engaged on the bridge-works and a posse of coolies, who after a tremendous struggle hove us out of the slough of despond by main force and trundled us down to the ferry-boat (or boats: there were two lashed side by side), which safely landed us on the further shore. Then after a short talk with our rescuer and his colleague, we set off to the Barbūti bridge and across desert to Samāwah, which we soon

62.—THE FERRY, WĀWĪYA

reached, and slowly chugged and honk-honked down through the bazaar, amid lowering and unfriendly faces, to the edge of the river, on the opposite bank of which lay the picturesque native house of the A.P.O. To it I went across by A.P.O.'s *bellam*, for the night, leaving my two Burmese and the cars behind to find quarters in the town.

Samāwah seemed less shut in by palms than Rumaithah, but it was closely embowered in them, the river looking like a gorge between high green banks. The town was picturesque, especially so the A.P.O.'s house. Here I was kindly treated, and held a council of war as to my future route. It was, I was told, out of the question for me to try to reach Naṣirīyyah by car on account of mud. I must leave my cars here, to return to Ḥillah, while I proceeded by water. Accordingly next morning I returned to the other bank, paid off my two Burmese and saw them off on their return to Ḥillah, where, I heard afterwards, they had safely arrived, without mishap from mud or fanatical Arab; their well-cared-for rifles were no doubt sufficient guarantee against the latter danger. I was sorry to part from Moung Pin, who had been my special chauffeur since my second visit to Babylon: he was a cheery lad, and I had found his English welcome after the stolid non-comprehension of anything but Urdu that characterized the ordinary I.O.R.[1] I hope he is now a flourishing father of a family beneath the shadow of his Shwē Dagōn.

Then on 12 September I embarked with my baggage, and my cook, on a buoyage launch of the I.W.T., with a young British engineer of the mercantile marine (Scotch, of course) to take me to Naṣirīyyah. We sped swiftly down river past Durrāji and al-Khidhr, and finally reached the great bridge of boats at Naṣirīyyah, where I landed and found my way past the hospital to the Political Offices, a dull-looking abode up one of the side streets, where Captain T. C. Orgill, the A.P.O. (hereinafter my guide, philosopher and friend during the excavations) hospitably received me. I soon made the acquaintance of his senior officer, Major H. R. Dickson, the Political, Colonel Dundas the military commandant, and his aides, from all of whom I received a hearty welcome and promises of co-operation which were amply fulfilled.

Many of those who served in 'Mespot' (of evil memory to most, I

[1] 'Indian Other Ranks'; like B.O.R., 'British Other Ranks'—the official designation of Pte. Thos. Atkins and his comrades.

fear) during the Great War will have been to Naṣirīyyah. It was occupied after hard fighting in July 1915, a perfectly incredible time of the year for military operations, although the troops were mostly conveyed by water and were dressed in little more than shorts, topis, and back-pads. Yet their grandfathers fought harder at Chillianwalla and Sobraon, wearing the same uniforms they would wear in London, with cross-braces, constricting the chest. In the Mutiny revolutionary ideas imbibed in the Crimea modified this rigour somewhat, by the addition of a *pagri* to the head-dress and the abandonment of the coatee. But even then one marvels at the uniforms our men wore in Indian heat. As a matter of fact, however, it may be so hot on the North-west Frontier or in 'Mespot' that one is glad to wear thick clothing to keep out the heat, and can go too far in the direction of denuding the body.

However, the Euphrates flotilla of steamers, launches, *mahailas*, and *bellams* reached Naṣirīyyah on 25 July, and thereafter till the capture of Baghdad the town remained our furthest north on the Euphrates. After the fall of Baghdad in March 1917, the intervening stretch of the Euphrates valley from Ḥillah past Dīwānīyah, Rumaithah, and Durrāji to Naṣirīyyah automatically fell into our hands.

All who know that stretch of the Euphrates, or have been stationed at Naṣirīyyah will remember the great red mass of Tell al-Muqayyar, rising out of the desert just where the new railway, built northward from Baṣrah and Shaiba along the desert-margin, suddenly curved inwards towards the Euphrates and Naṣirīyyah, at the spot where, when the line was continued to Baghdad, 'Ur Junction' (اُور جنکشن) arose. And that name marks the fact, which everybody knew, that Tell al-Muqayyar was the site of the Biblical Ur, 'Abraham's home burg', as cheerful Babbitts describe it; 'Ūrjenkshin', as I fear it is becoming known to the 'Irāqis. The fact must have made the place interesting to many stationed at Naṣirīyyah, and many must be those (and more especially Masons) who brought back to England specimens of the inscribed bricks that lie about on the site—when they did not find them too weighty for transport and threw them away.

The identification of Muqayyar as Ur was first made, both by Rennell and d'Anville, on geographical grounds, and confirmed by Sir Henry Rawlinson from fragments of inscribed brick found there by Mr. W. K. Loftus on his visit in 1849, the first modern investigation of the place.

These fragments commemorated the buildings of Dungi or Shulgi, and of Ur-Nammu (as we now read their names), kings of Ur at a remote period which we now know to have been the latter half of the third millennium B.C. Loftus, of course, was not the first European to visit Ur. The Venetian traveller, Pietro della Valle, in 1625, seems to have been the first to describe it, and he brought back bricks and cylinder-seals from it and commented on their inscriptions, noting their characteristic appearance, like wedges

63.—SKETCH-MAP OF SOUTHERN BABYLONIA, SHOWING ANCIENT SITES

and stars; noting also the fact that pitch was used by the ancient builders instead of mortar.[1] We do not hear of it, again, however, till Baillie

[1] 'Il diciannove giugno non ci partendo di dove stavamo allogiati, per aspettar la sopradetta risposta di Hasan agà, andai la mattina a vedere con più diligenza le vicine già dette ruine di quell'antica fabbrica. Quello che fossero non potei comprendere; ma trovai essere di buonissimi e grandi mattoni cotti, la maggior parte dei quali erano scritti e bollati in mezzo con certe lettere incognite, e che paiono antichissime. Io presi e portai con me uno di questi mattoni, ed osservai che erano insieme congiunti nella fabbrica, non con salce, ma col bitume o pece che

Fraser went there in 1835 in the course of his adventurous pioneer journey into the desert and marsh lands of the Muntafiq and Ma'adān tribes of Southern 'Iraq.[1] Next year the famous British river steamer *Euphrates* passed within hail of Muqayyar on her epoch-making journey from Biridjik to Baṣrah, and that the ziggurrat was observed by those on board is evident from the narrative of Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, the surgeon and geologist of the expedition, who has a great deal to say about it and its identity with the Orchoe of Ptolemy (which is much more probably Erech) and Ur of the Chaldees.[2] And his chief, Colonel Chesney, gives 'Mujáya' (as he calls it) a few words in that extraordinary and endless jumble (beautifully illustrated with the lithographs of the time), the official account of the Expedition.[3] But we do not gather that it was actually visited. The attitude of the Beni Hashēm tribe was by no means friendly; the steamer had been attacked at Khidhr, and between that place and Sūq ash-Shuyūkh it was decidedly unsafe to land. And from Sūq the steamer proceeded at once to Kurnah. It was not until sixteen years later that Loftus actually visited Muqayyar. He does not yet mention Naṣirīyyah, because it did not yet exist.

Naṣirīyyah is an ugly town. It is modern, having been founded by Nāṣir Pasha in 1869 as a centre of Turkish government in the land of the turbulent Muntafiq tribes. It has none of the picturesque narrow twisting streets and bazaars of older Mesopotamian towns, but is laid out with broad streets on a chess-board pattern, with low houses, which causes it to remind one of some modern Greek town, like the new Corinth. There

dissi in quei campi generersi, onde però quel monte di ruine di fabbrica dagli Arabi è detto *Muqejer*, cioè *impegolato*, o *pegoloso*. . . . Il venti giugno, guardando io di nuovo la mattina intorno a quelle ruine, trovai per terra alcuni piétre di marmo nero, duro e fino, scolpite con quelle stesse lettere dei mattoni, che mi parvero con un sigillo, nel modo che oggi ancora dagli Orientali si usa; chèi loro sigilli non sono altro che lettere e parole scritte che contengono il nome di cui è il sigillo accompagnato da qualche epiteto di umiltà e di devozione, o da titoli alteri d'onore, o d'altre parole a libito di ciascuno, che solo per se stesso, e non perpetuo per tutta la sua famiglia, come fra di noi si usa, il sigillo si fa. Tra le altre lettere che scórsi in quell' impronto, due ne reconobbi in più luoghi, che erano una quasi piramidi giacente cosi ⩥, e l'altra quasi stella d'otto raggi di questa forma ✱.' (*Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, lettere xi; Brighton, Gancia, 1843; vol. ii, p. 844). His observation was evidently very accurate and intelligent for his time.

[1] *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, &c.* (1840), ii, p. 90.

[2] *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, &c.*, 1838, ii, pp. 179, 180; *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, 1868; p. 80.

[3] *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, i, p. 93. It is not mentioned in Chesney's later *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (1868).

is a bazaar, of course, but it has little character. There is the bridge, there was the hospital, and the low-built military headquarters. The Political Officer had one of the pleasantest houses in the place. There was a tennis-court for the officers, but otherwise nothing to see and nothing to do but one's work. Our excavations at any rate have given anybody stationed since at Naṣirīyyah something to go and see in the ruins of the great temple-buildings that now lie uncovered around the base of the great red ziggurrat-tower of Tell al-Muqayyar, that can be seen over there in the heat-haze, six miles away on the opposite bank beyond the bridge. Tell Muqayyar gave even then anybody with a desire for fresh air an objective for a run in his (or somebody else's) Ford or motor-bicycle. It was worth going to see, although then it rose amid almost untouched mounds.

Not, of course, that the garrison of Naṣirīyyah had little work to do. The 'feel' of the country was distinctly jumpy, but at the same time the natives seemed to me more friendly than they had been at Rumaithah or even Dīwānīyah, and far more so than at Samāwah, where I got the impression of decided enmity in the looks of the people in the bazaar; the worst looks I ever got in 'Iraq. Things there were already working up for the rebellion of 1920. Naṣirīyyah was not inimical, but the war was not yet over in a sense here. The Muntafiq tribes, always unruly, and always defiant of the Turk, were by no means inclined to sit down peacefully under the new rule of the British, and they objected to paying taxes to them quite as much as to the Turks. In fact, some chiefs were distinctly rebellious, and had to be chastised by an occasional bombing expedition in the marshes, though people who lived in rush-huts on reedy islands were poor targets and had little to lose if they were hit. But there was no other way of bringing them to book for hostile acts or other delinquencies, and the Naṣirīyyah garrison was on the *qui vive*.

The arrival of an archaeologist who required a guard for himself and his workmen was a new complication, but it was met with goodwill, and Ur soon became a regular outpost of the garrison. For I soon found, as Thompson had before me, that Ur was the only possible scene of excavations in the neighbourhood. Warka and Sinkarah were impossible for flood and mud, and also too far away for a guard. And Djōkha or Yōkha, up the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥai, was frankly impossible for political reasons. Safety from marauders could not be guaranteed there at all: the Muntafiq were

far too jumpy, and it was much too far away for a guard to be detached from Naṣirīyyah. So Ur it had to be, and I was by no means sorry therefore, as continuity with the former excavations of Taylor at the time of the Crimea and with Thompson's work of the year before could be preserved. Also, the proximity of the railway, of the stores at Ur Junction, and the nearness of troops, workshops, and British officers at Naṣirīyyah, rendered work at Ur comparatively easy.

My Turkish prisoners had already arrived, and were camped with their guard at Ur Junction. It only remained to organize the dig with the help of Captain Orgill and the staff-officers on the spot. Next day (13 February) he took me out to Muqayyar. We crossed the bridge, and as we spun along the road to Ur Junction the great red tower loomed before me in the westering sun, growing ever larger and more defined in form as we approached. We then crossed the railway, and rolled up on our way, still deep in mud, on to the mounds to the tower's north-east face, where I was to make my home for four months. After a quick preliminary view, an ascent of the ziggurrat to see the sun set over the western desert, and decision as to the site of the camp, we returned; that evening was occupied in making arrangements for tents, stores, and so forth. The following morning lorries took out my two tents, issued to me by the military authorities (of the large Indian pattern), my impedimenta, food stores, my guard and myself, and cook to Ur. The Turks marched up under their guard from the Junction and set up the tents, one for myself, the other for antiquities at the northern end of the mounds, and that afternoon work was begun, after the muster-roll had been called, with the digging of a small trial trench at the spot marked A in the plan (Fig. 95). That night I slept at Naṣirīyyah. Next morning early, 15 February, I went out to find the tents ready, the Turks marched up, and in the course of the day we were rewarded by the first antiquities found, a small cache of cuneiform tablets —the first sod was turned of the excavations of 1919.

That evening when at sunset work stopped and the Turks were wending their way across the mounds homeward to Ur Junction, I strolled out alone while Sousa was cooking my dinner in his tent, to survey my domain. All was installed; the whole of my little force assembled. What should I find? Perhaps nothing, *inshallah* something; I dared even hope for something good. Would my *naṣīb*, my luck, hold? I had had some

reputation for *naṣīb* years before at Thebes, from the discovery of the temple of King Mentuḥetep at Dair al-baḥri (see p. 261), the first pillars of which I had found on the day after Naville had left me for Cairo, much disappointed that we had discovered no tombs, or anything but small objects during his stay. It was a fine result of the quest which he had planned and started. Should I be equally lucky now? My luck held when I found al-'Ubaid, close by, with its monuments of the older Sumerian period which are now in the British Museum. Then again I heard the word *naṣībak*, this time from 'Iraqi mouths.

It was a huge site, a mass of rolling mounds about 950 yards long by 600 broad, with the great red tower at its northern end. There

64.—MY CAMP AT UR: 1919

were years of work ahead here. It was a big site to tackle, yet its sod had already been turned twice for the British Museum, and it seemed *maktūb* (written) that we should tackle it. Its advantages for speedy and economical work I have already mentioned. Yet it seemed a great task. Where to begin? Here again continuity put forward its claim, and I had decided while continuing the lucky trench at A, to continue a row of trenches that Captain Thompson had started in the previous year during his short week's stay at Ur, before he went on to the other site that Taylor had already dug for the Museum, Abu Shahrain. I was, however, looking for a place where I could start an excavation of the type to which I had been used in Egypt; not of pits to ascertain the character of the strata in a line across the mounds, but of an actual building which I could clear out.

Indications of such buildings, such as Taylor had dug before, in the shape of the tops of brick walls shewing on the denuded surface of the soil south-east of his work, were not far to seek, and I returned to my tent with a new programme in my head for the morrow.

And as I eat my dinner of cunningly prepared and curried bully-beef rations and potatoes, washed down with the excellent Japanese beer that the Naṣirīyyah canteen provided, let us consider more closely Ur of the Chaldees, its surroundings, history, and what seemed to be the possibilities of its mounds and their neighbours; and also let us hear the account of what Mr. C. L. Woolley has found in the course of his seven years' work, which after an interval followed the initial campaign I describe in this book.

CHAPTER III

UR OF THE CHALDEES

THE reading of W. K. Loftus's book, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, which he published in 1857, is extremely interesting at the present day, seventy years later, to those who have travelled and worked there themselves. The description not only of the country, but also of the people, fits the conditions of the present day, barring substitution of rifles for spears and the consequences of the War, perfectly well. Little is altered, and many of the incidents that happened to Loftus might well happen to anybody to-day. His published drawings of objects discovered are quite good, and those of places are generally recognizable, though one may smile at the dramatic style of them, notably the picture of the Ur ziggurrat ('The Great Temple at Mùgeyer, from the west'), opposite his page 129 (our Fig. 65), where the gesticulating and spear-carrying Arabs are incidentally much too big for the ziggurrat, or the latter is too small for them, an error that, I believe, occurs often in architectural drawings of a far more recent period. But the illustrations of that day had to be dramatic, and considering that the picture had usually to be re-drawn from the traveller's sketch (helped at times by the *camera lucida*), and not always under his supervision, and then engraved by somebody else, it is remarkable how accurate these mid-nineteenth-century pictures sometimes are. (The same cannot, of course, be said for the

65.—TELL AL-MUQAYYAR AS ILLUSTRATED BY LOFTUS: 1857

pictures of the preceding century.) A touch of modernity is given by an apparently highly scientific transliteration of Arabic names with hyphens and accents and double *yy* (*y* with *tashdīd*) and even an apostrophe (though turned the wrong way) for the *'āin*: one purrs with satisfaction at these very modern-looking 'Dúrájís', when one had expected 'Doorawjees' in the orthodox Early Victorian 'Quihi' style, till suddenly one is brought up short on the same page by such names as 'Tel Ede' and 'Shat-el-Hie'. This is a sudden reversion to 'Quihi' spelling, for these places are Tell or Tal 'Īd[1] (presumably) and, of course, the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥai (or better, al-Ḥayy). The French are still given to such queer mixtures of scientific and Gallican spelling, and mingle in much the same way with symbols understood of all their peculiar *ch* and *ou*, as the Dutch do their *oe*.

Loftus came to Ur from Warka, reaching the Euphrates at Durrāji, then 'a new kál'a' (*sic*), so-called from the number of francolin (*durráj*) found there. Thence he passed along the left bank of the Euphrates 'to the marshes of the confluence of the Shat-el-Hie [see above] and Shat-el-Káhr [Kār] with that river. . . . The Shat-el-Hie, in conjunction with the Shat-el-Káhr, forms an extensive marsh, out of which a single stream finds its way to the Euphrates. Just above the point of junction a kúfah [*quffah*] ferry is maintained, by means of which we crossed to the western side' (pp. 126–7). He does not mention Naṣirīyyah at all; it was, in fact, not yet founded. It was to stand where he crossed to go to Muqayyar. His description of the mounds and ziggurrat is short, as he himself undertook no excavations there. The name Muqayyar (which he spells 'Múgeyer', with a *g* instead of a *q* and the accent on the wrong syllable), he says properly belongs to the ziggurrat, not the mounds generally, and is derived from the Arabo-Persian word *qīr*, 'pitch', from the fact that its bricks are 'cemented with bitumen', as Pietro della Valle had pointed out.[2] He says also truly that the *ziggurrat* is 'the only example of a Babylonian temple remaining in good preservation, not wholly covered by rubbish'. That was so in his time, for Birs was and is not in good preservation: we have seen how the towers of Babylon and Niffer were covered with debris, as

[1] It is strange to find this obviously 'Quihi' spelling 'Ede' not only on a military map of Mesopotamia reproduced in *Encycl. Brit.* Suppl. Vol. iii, p. 810, but even in the 1927 edition of the 1 : 1,0000,000 international map, published by the War Office, as the transliterations on this map are usually good. It has abolished the extraordinary transliteration in the older map, 'Tel Kessue' for Tell al-Quṣair (see p. 227), for instance. [2] See above, p. 72, *n.*

also to all intents and purposes is that of Shahrain; and the buildings we now see open to the sky have been uncovered by the archaeologist's spade since the time of Loftus. So the ziggurrat of Ur stands up on the edge of the desert like an Egyptian pyramid, which superficially it much resembled before the rubbish heaped up round its base had been removed by Mr. Woolley, and the great steps on its north-east face had been revealed. Some trace of these, by the way, was noticed by Loftus, for on p. 129, after stating that the lower story is 27 feet in height, he goes on to say that it 'exhibits but one entrance, 8 feet wide, on the north-east side, which leads from the base to the summit of the building. Between the stories is a gradual, stepped incline, about 7 feet in perpendicular height, which may, however, be accidental, and arise from the destruction of the upper part of the lower story'. This looks as if the stairway had been less covered up with brick-rubbish than it was in my time, when it was unrecognizable; I only came upon the lower steps of the descending flight at the east corner when clearing the south-east side. On this south-east side Loftus imagined 'a grand staircase, of the same width as the upper story', which never existed. Taylor also had an inkling of the existence of the north-east stairway, as we shall see.

Loftus correctly notes that one angle of the building points due north, 'which feature, I may remark, is observable in all edifices of true Chaldaean origin'; his measurements are correct, so far as they could be carried out owing to the presence of piles of rubbish which he had no means there of removing; and he notices the putlog-holes: 'the whole surface is pierced with oblong apertures resembling those at the Bīrs Nimrúd, Akker Kúf (*sic*), El-Heimar' [al-Uhaimir] and numerous other Chaldaean edifices'. We shall return to these putlog-holes later: in all probability they also served another purpose.

'From the summit of Múgeyer are distinctly discernible the ruins of Abú-Shahreyn' [Abu Shahrain], says Loftus, correctly. The fact is denied by Hilprecht (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 178, n. 1), without cause, as he never was there, and anybody who has ever climbed to the top of the ziggurrat can testify that he has seen Shahrain from it as plain as a pikestaff, though twelve miles away or more. But Hilprecht was misled by the fact that he thought Shahrain lay 'in a deep valley': the depression in which it lies is about 6 to 10 feet below the level of the rest of the desert.

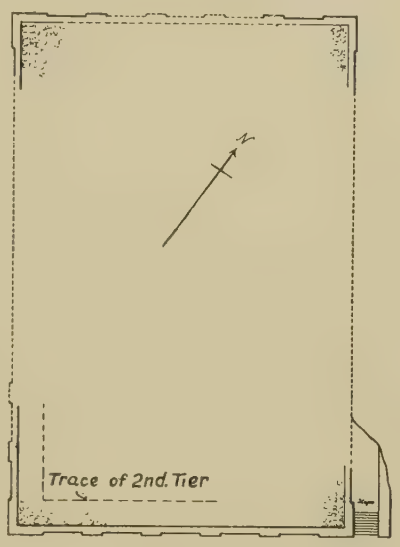
Another comment of Loftus that 'during the high inundations of the river . . . Múgeyer is completely surrounded by water, and is, like Warka, unapproachable on any side except in boats' seems to me difficult to credit, but it may have been so in his time: nowadays the *bunds* (dykes) on the river are more carefully maintained than then, and it could not happen under the present, or indeed under the more recent Turkish régime.

Loftus never dug at Ur himself. The work for the British Museum was, as I have said, carried out by Consul J. E. Taylor, of Baṣrah, in 1853–4, while Loftus went on with his work for the Assyrian Excavation Fund at Warka. Taylor's results, dated from 'Busreh, March 31st, 1854', were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv (1854), p. 260 ff., under the title 'Notes on the Ruins of Múgeyer' (read before the Society, 8 July, 1854).

Not many traces remained of Taylor's work when I reached Ur. Yet he did a good deal of excavation, as reference to his report shews. A hillock south-east of the ziggurrat hid a building partially dug by him which developed during Mr. Woolley's work into the library house, *Ē-dublal-makh* (see pp. 88, 113). Buildings soon get covered, and trenches and pits soon get filled by wind-blown debris and sand on desert sites like Muqayyar or Shahrain, and in a few years they may be almost unrecognizable, especially if they are not very deep. And Taylor's work apparently did not go very deep. One reason is that one finds so much close to the surface at Ur, owing to the denudation caused by desert winds and sandstorms.

Taylor had one great piece of luck. He discovered the foundation cylinders that Nabonidus had inserted, each in its little *khazna*, or chamber, in the four corners of the ziggurrat, to commemorate his restoration of it, at depths below the surface of the building varying from 2 to 12 feet: this being due to the varying degree of denudation of the surface below its original level. This discovery, the first of its kind ever made, gave a hint to Rawlinson, who in his work at Birs next year gained immense *kudos* as almost a warlock from his men by getting them to work at the four corners of the tower, and after some juggling with a prismatic compass, ordering them to 'bring forth the cylinders', which to their amazement they did. They put it all down to the compass.

One thing Taylor certainly seems to have proved, and that is the solidity of the ziggurrat-tower. By driving a tunnel into the very heart of the mound, he found that although pierced transversely on all sides by the long narrow 'weep-holes', which served as putlog-holes while the tower was building and as ventilators and drainers of the crude brick mass when it was completed [1], the ziggurrat was solid: a compact mass of unburnt brick 'with a thick coat of massive, partially burnt bricks, of a light red colour, with layers of reeds between them; the whole being cased by a wall of kiln-burnt bricks'. The burnt brick facing only covers the lower portion of the tower now; above this it has tumbled down, leaving the partly-burnt and crude brick core exposed. Originally, before Ur-Nammu's time, there may have been a tower of crude brick. If so, it was rebuilt and faced with burnt brick by Ur-Nammu, of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2300 B.C.), the builder of the tower in its present form. Shulgi added his contribution, and in late times Nabonidus, who also contributed a facing of blue glazed bricks probably to one of the upper stages: we found many fragments of his blue bricks amid the debris. Taylor found the crude bricks of the interior near the surface to be 'of an amazing thickness; their size was 16 inches square and 7 inches thick'. And he



66.—PLAN OF THE ZIGGURRAT, SHEWING LOWER STEPS OF SOUTHERN STAIR OF N.E. FAÇADE: 1919

[1] 'A necessary precaution', Mr. Woolley points out (*Antiquaries' Journal*, V, 1925, p. 10), 'for the heavy rains of the Mesopotamian winter would certainly soak through the brick floor of the terraces, and had there been no escape for the moisture the crude brick would have swollen and burst the retaining-wall. In addition to this, in the two short walls of the building (*i.e.* the north-west and south-east faces) towards their western (and respectively, southern) ends, a rectangular shaft runs up the whole height of the brickwork; the shafts, which probably once contained terracotta pipes, are drains for carrying off the surface water from the wide platform, that lay at either end (north-west and south-east) of the tower'. Mr. Woolley finds a further reason for these 'weep-holes' in the necessity of provision to carry off the damp caused by the plantations of trees that probably existed on the ziggurrat (*Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 124). There is no doubt that groves were planted on ziggurrats; a description of Gudea's makes this clear.

found two logs of wood used in the brick building which he took to be teak: such an importation from India is neither impossible nor unlikely.

Although Taylor was thus successful in his examination of the ziggurrat, and took fairly accurate measurements of it, his ideas of its elevation and of the disposition of its stages seem rather vague, as was perhaps natural. And from his description it is not very clear whether he did or did not see the great stairway on the north-east side that Mr. Woolley and the late Mr. F. G. Newton cleared in 1924 (Fig. 67), or whether I in

67.—THE ZIGGURRAT: N.E. FACE, SHEWING TRIPLE STAIRWAY

1919 was the first to find steps. I had, of course, no idea of the great central ascent, finding, as I did, merely the lower steps of the southern or lateral ascent, as is shewn in Fig. 66, the plan of the ziggurrat published by me in my first preliminary report on my work, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for December 1919. But it is not certain that Taylor was not aware of the central ascent, as it is difficult to make his words refer merely to one of the two lateral flights. Woolley and Newton found what Taylor or I would have found had we been able to clear the north-east face (I cleared part of the south-east face as an

experiment): *viz.* (in Mr. Woolley's words)[1] 'from the centre of the building there ran out a solid brick-walled ramp supporting a flight of one hundred stairs with brick treads; against the wall of the ziggurrat were two other flights of brick stairs (also of one hundred steps each) which starting from the north and east corners of the building ran up, cutting across its face, to converge with the central stairs were solid towers, their walls decorated with doubly recessed panelling, rising to the height of the diagonal made by the line of the side stairways and with flat tops accessible from those stairs'. At the top of the trijunct stairway was a gateway, probably arched, leading on to the second terrace (the first terrace, properly so-called, only existed at the south-east end of the ziggurrat). This, like all the rest of the second terrace and the probable third terrace, was, whether restoration or not, the work of Nabonidus; the stairways were built by Ur-Nammu, like the mass of the ziggurrat.

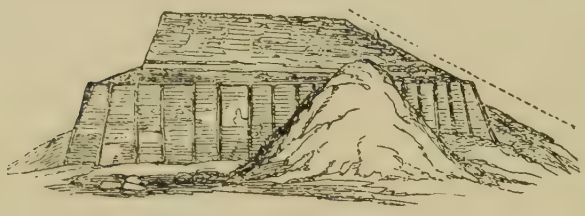
68.—THE SOUTHERN STAIRS: N.E. FAÇADE OF THE ZIGGURRAT

Now Taylor writes (*J.R.A.S.*, 1855, p. 261): 'At the eastern side [of the ziggurrat] is a staircase, 3 yards broad, with sides or balustrades 1 yard broad, shooting out of two supporting buttresses, 2 yards broad, which leads up to the edge of the basement of the second story'. He says no

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 10.

more, but this undoubtedly looks like a very jejune description of the great stairway (or at any rate of part of it) which Taylor must have recognized beneath the *talus* of tumbled brick from the ruined upper stories that covered it until it was completely cleared by Woolley. That is, if we give what I conceive to be the natural interpretation of the curious phrase 'shooting out of two supporting buttresses'. These I take to be a vague description of what Taylor could see of the side stairways and their towers. He must, in my opinion, have seen and recognized the central ascending stairway, which is that which he describes, and to which he refers on p. 264, in his reference to 'the staircase at the eastern face' and 'the inclined plane leading up to the second story'.

In 1919 I did not recognize it. Probably the overlying *talus* had increased considerably since Taylor's time: at any rate no such stairway was recognizable by me or by my successors, who had no idea of its existence till they began to clear the north-east face in 1924. I found the lowest steps of the southern lateral stairway, at the eastern corner of the ziggurrat, as I have said, and I was much puzzled and put to it to try to reconcile the position of the stairway with Taylor's description, as may be seen in my article 'Ur and Eridu' in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ix (1923), which appeared before the discoveries of the following year finally cleared up the matter.

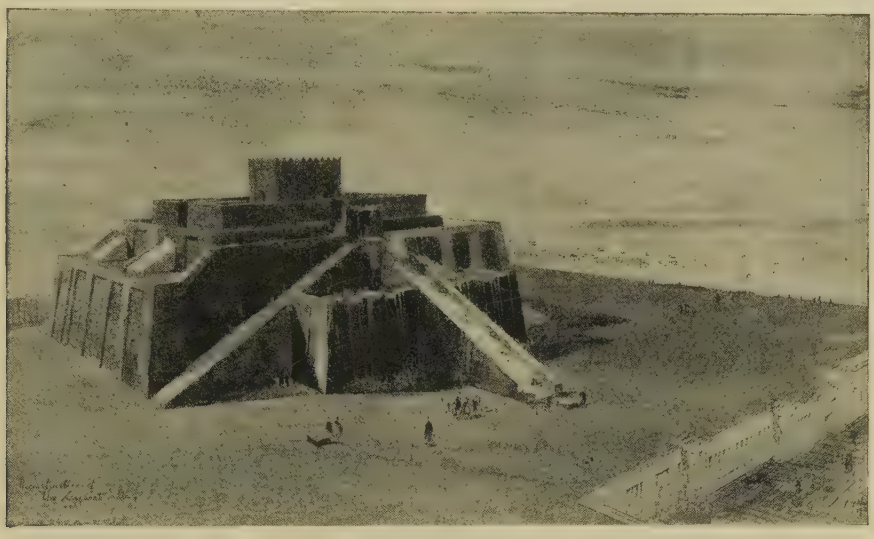


69.—TAYLOR'S SKETCH OF THE ZIGGURRAT (1854) (S.W. FACE)

So Taylor saw the ghost of the great triple stairway beneath the rubbish (cf. Figs. 272–3), just as he also saw the shaft of the ascending stairway of the ziggurrat of Abu Shahrain (Eridu) which remains to be excavated, and is still clearly visible.

His rough sketch of the elevation of the ziggurrat in his time, reproduced above (Fig. 69), shews also that he had a distinct notion of the curious and characteristic lowering at the southern end, which Mr. Newton has explained 'as due not to any unusual denudation or destruction at that end, but to the fact that there did exist there a platform lower than the rest: in

fact, the first platform existed at the south-east end of the tower: the second platform only at the north-west end and along the north-east and south-west sides: consequently the third platform was the first to run all round the building: it never had more than one platform-level below it but it is really the third in its relation to the general scheme of the ziggurat.'[1] Of the actual arrangement of the levels of course Taylor had no notion, and this was a matter that both Thompson and I preferred to leave to a professional architect to decide, and when, in the person of Mr. Newton, he came, the matter was decided with its very interesting results. The asymmetry of the ziggurrat is one of the most interesting things about



70.—NEWTON'S RESTORATION OF THE ZIGGURRAT (DRAWN BY H. WALCOT)

it, and gives it an individuality which the usual stock reconstructions of Babylonian temple-towers do not possess. It is evident that we must not be too symmetrical in our reconstructions of these ancient buildings.

Mr. Newton has noted one curious fact, that on the platform of the first stage at Ur are recesses or alcoves (afterwards bricked up) in the

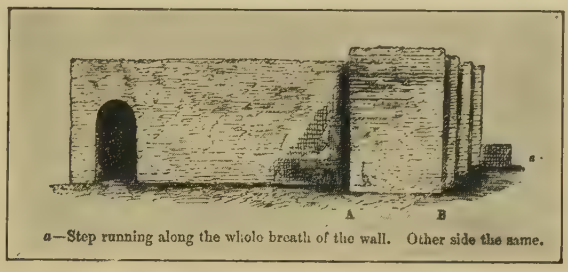
[1] *Ant. Journ.*, V (1925), p. 11 n. Mr. Newton's restoration of the ziggurrat, published *ibid.*, p. 9, and reproduced here (Fig. 70), is very interesting on account of this curious hunched appearance, owing to the level of the south-east portion of the summit being lower than the rest. That this was so, however, is evident to all who have seen the tower: even in its ruin it shews this characteristic, which was doubtless due to the rebuilds that it has undergone since its original building long before the time of Ur-Nammu.

wall of the second stage (seven on each long side and four on each short side), which Mr. Sidney Smith compares with the *θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι*, the resting-chambers for persons making the ascent, mentioned by Herodotus in his description of the temple-tower of Bel at Babylon: *μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες* (i. 181): 'In the midway up the stayres are framed certayne seates or benches for those that go up to rest and breathe by the way', as the quaint Elizabethan, 'B. R.,' translates.

71.—THE SOUTH-WEST FACE OF THE ZIGGURRAT, AS CLEARED BY WOOLLEY

Ziggurrats differed in their arrangements, for that of Eridu (Shahrain) was ascended by a single stepway or steep ladder-like ramp that went directly up the middle of the south-west face, and those of Nippur (Ê-kur) and Babylon (Ê-temen-an-ki, the 'Tower of Babel'; otherwise the ziggurrat of the temple of Bel-Marduk at Babylon) by one on the south-east; that of Ur being, as we have seen, ascended by a stairway on the north-east face with flanking steps. In others the stairway of a ziggurrat may have started at one corner, then passed from the first stage to the second diagonally across one face, and so on, finally reaching the fourth stage (which will

presumably have been the summit) at the original corner again. This would agree with Herodotus's description of the stages of the temple of Bel at Babylon: *ἀνάβασις δέ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοῦς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται* (Hdt. I, 181)—'on the outside of every towre do winde certaine degrees of steps or stayres leading to the top or highest part of the same' (B.R.). But this description can refer only to the higher stages, since we know that the main ascent of Ē-temen-anki was a central ramp or stairway. The only way to reconcile Herodotus's statement with the facts is to suppose that above the main mass of the ziggurrat there may have been small stages; he says it had eight, but seven is more probable; the further staircase or ramp of ascent may have covered or passed two of the small higher stages on each face. Ziggurrats have been restored in various ways, but the evidence of Ur, Eridu, Babylon and Nippur is that the great central stairway at right angles to one face is the most usual feature, while at the top were stages, faced (at any rate in late Babylonian times) with coloured bricks perhaps of different hues. At Ur, however, while blue-faced bricks were found by Taylor, by myself, and by Woolley after me, there were none glazed of any other colour, and none such of any colour at all have been found at Shahrain. We find these blue enamelled bricks elsewhere, as at Nippur, Babylon, and Birs Nimrūd, for the higher stages of the ziggurrat, probably. But whether we are justified in supposing, as Rawlinson did at Birs, that the stories of these temple-towers were usually clad with bricks of different colours, not only blūe, is uncertain. The supposed evidence from Birs seems to me doubtful. At Ur we do seem to have remains of a black stage (covered with bitumen), and (very doubtfully) of a red one, built of very powdery red bricks: I am, however, myself inclined to ascribe this calcined appearance to the actual effects of fire, rather than intentional colour. I am rather sceptical about this supposed colouring. The blue stage was undoubtedly the topmost at



72.—HOUSE AND ARCH EXCAVATED BY TAYLOR AT UR (PART OF Ē-DUBLAL-MAKH)

Ur, on which was built the high *gigunu*, or secret dwelling of the god. According to Taylor, remains of the blue stage of Nabonidus at Ur existed as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, so he was told (p. 264).

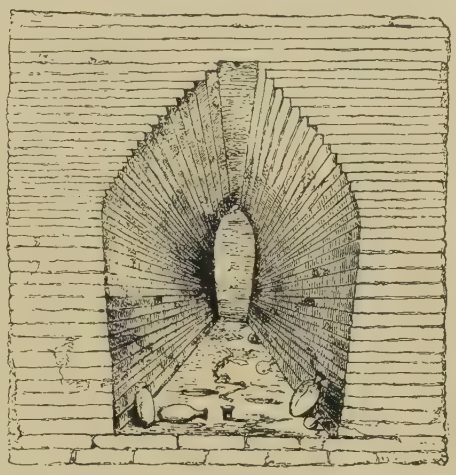
Taylor's description of the brick house (*Ē-dublal-makh*; see p. 113) found by him S.E. (B in his plan, Fig. 75) of the ziggurrat, though short, is interesting: his idea of its appearance with narrow arched doorways and recessed walls has been entirely borne out by the later work on the site (Figs. 73, 87, 88). The arched doorways he discovered (Fig. 72)—one of which, Mr. Woolley found, when he cleared the house of the sand and rubbish that had buried it, had fallen since 1855[1]—were carefully described by him.[2] But as the whole building was probably considered to be quite late, their importance was not realized; and when Mr. Woolley found that the building was of the time of Kurigalzu (1400 B.C.), he was quite justified in hailing the discovery 'as one which revolutionized the history of architecture'. Since then, however, early Sumerian arches have been found at Ur.

73.—ARCHED DOORWAY IN Ē-DUBLAL-MAKH (1400 B.C.)

Taylor's red-painted bricks, some with a design of two crescents,

[1] Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 174.
[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1854, p. 266.

back to back ☽☾, stamped upon them, have been found later both here and at Eridu, where indeed they may possibly be the origin of the name Abu Shahrain which Eridu now bears (pp. 107, 216; Fig. 187). His description of the larnax-burials and brick vaulted tombs he excavated on the 'Tomb-Mound' (C in his plan, Fig. 75) gave our first idea of how at Ur the Babylonian dead were buried (Fig. 74). Though inaccurate in detail, it deserves credit as an excellent piece of work for its time; it was most painstaking. It gave me a very good idea of what I was likely to find in this respect, in fact almost too good an idea to be pleasant; since it was obvious from his description that the whole extent of the mounds of Muqayyar was covered with graves of this description just as, in fact, Niffer was too, as Layard had discovered, to his disgust, in 1850. I was likely to find a surfeit of graves. But in the end it turned out that, unlike Niffer, at Muqayyar the temple-buildings lay so near the surface that later graves proved but a minor complication in their excavation.



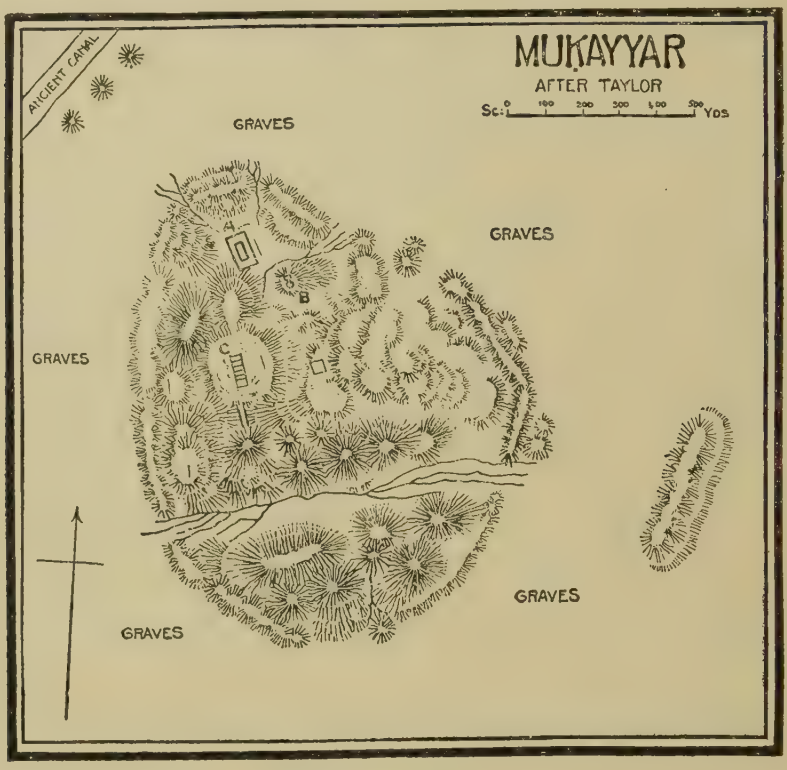
74.—TAYLOR'S SKETCH OF A BRICK VAULTED TOMB AT UR

The date of the graves described by Taylor, and after him by me and by Woolley, before the great find of the early cemetery (see below, p. 94), is not yet certain, but many of them may be as early as the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2300 B.C.); others are of the Larsa period (2000 B.C.); others again of the eighth to the seventh century A.D. I shall return to them later when describing the tombs I found.

This was the extent of Taylor's work at Ur. To this work the Trustees of the British Museum had subscribed. A year later, now under the direct auspices of the British Museum, he visited the mounds of Abu Shahrain (Eridu), fourteen miles out in the desert from Muqayyar, and Tell al-Laḥm, nearer in to the cultivated valley. His report, dated 'Busreh, January 17th, 1855', on this work was read to the Royal Asiatic Society

on 8 May, 1855, and published in the same volume of the *Journal*, pp. 404 ff.

Like Loftus's book, both articles were illustrated by the quaint woodcuts of the time. Still, poor though his sketches may be, and still worse his plans (Ur is really very inaccurate: cf. Fig. 75 with Figs. 76, 95), those with personal experience of both sites can testify to the (accord-



75.—TAYLOR'S PLAN OF UR

A = Ziggurrat B = Ē-dublal-makh C = 'Tomb-Mound.'

(King: *after* Taylor)

ing to the standards of those days) accurate impression he gives of them in writing. This is more especially the case with Abu Shahrain, where his finds were more important than at Muqayyar, though possibly he hardly realized this. 'Certainly their importance was not realized in London, nor is it likely that they would be realized at that time. All attention was focused on Nineveh and mighty Assyrian bulls and bas-reliefs of kings and lion-hunts and eagle-headed divinities. The work

76.—VERTICAL AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF UR, 1922

of Layard held the field; there were few to realize the importance of the discovery of the most ancient culture of Mesopotamia, to understand that Taylor had already reached the origins of Babylonian civilization at Shahrain. Flint implements from Babylonia attracted no attention in competition with winged bulls from Assyria. They were only beginning to attract attention even when found in England. No man realized their significance in the Middle East, or how important was the site of Eridu. The finds, too, at Muqayyar were not very exciting. Accordingly the work on the two sites was closed down, and as the Assyrian Excavation Fund very soon ceased work also, as Layard had abandoned Nippur after a very short visit (1851), and Sir Henry Rawlinson did no further work in Babylonia after his short excavation of Birs Nimrūd (Borsippa) in 1854, British archaeological exploration in Babylonia stopped for two generations.'[1]

Dr. (now Sir Ernest) Budge excavated in the mounds of Dair for the British Museum in 1891,[2] and Mr. Hormuzd Rassam worked at Babylon, Birs, Telloh, and Abu Habbah (Sippar), recovering among other things the famous Assyrian 'Balawat Gates', but it was not until near the end of the Great War, in 1918, that the Trustees of the British Museum, deeming the time propitious now that the country was in British occupation, decided that excavations should again be set on foot in Southern Babylonia, if possible on sites formerly associated with British work such as Abu Shahrain, Ur, Warka, or Senkereh. Accordingly Mr. Campbell Thompson, then a captain in the intelligence service, began the work with a short reconnoitring visit to Ur, and then proceeded to Abu Shahrain, where he re-planned the mounds and undertook sounding operations which have provided us with considerable material belonging to the early ages of the city of Eridu, which he has published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxx.

In 1919 I took Capt. Thompson's place, and decided to begin my work at Ur, going later for a short visit to Shahrain. Besides being the most convenient site possible for excavation, its Biblical connexion with the story of Abraham made it a site likely to interest others besides archaeologists and historians, and to the latter it was one of the most important sites in Babylonia, on account of its ancient greatness and the dominant rôle which it often exercised in Sumerian days.

[1] Hall, *al-'Ubaid*, p. 4.

[2] Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, ii, p. 260 ff.

Ur Kasdim, Ur of the Chaldees, was always one of the major cities of Sumer. It continued to be a great centre of population and of religious worship till the last days of Babylonian civilization, and it was the seat of the most ancient recorded historical dynasty of Sumerian kings. The Moon-god, Nannar, called by the Semites Sin, had here the most ancient seat of his worship, and his priests still continued to minister at his shrine in the days of Ashurbanipal, 2,500 years after the time of the most ancient kings of Ur. The First Dynasty of Ur is the first dynasty recorded after the days of the semi-mythical rulers who lived in the land immediately after the great legendary Flood. This, whether it was, as seems quite probable, a real inundation of unusual magnitude which so altered the face of Sumer that new dynasties and practically a new civilization arose after it, or whether it merely typifies the state of chaos, half-water half-land, on the fens of Southern Babylonia before civilization began its work of draining and canalizing, was a very real event to the Babylonians, and to those neighbouring peoples, like the Hebrews, to whom Babylonian culture extended its influence. And one of the most important early seats of this civilization was Ur, and here ruled the first historical Sumerian Dynasty, whose kings were chiefs of their own city and suzerains of the other city-states. The excavation of 1923 at al-'Ubaid revealed the fact that this 'suburban' temple, if we may so call it, in the neighbourhood of Ur, which I had discovered and partially excavated in 1919, was built by King A-anni-padda, son of King Mes-anni-padda, who is mentioned in the traditional list of the early kings, and given the improbably long reign of eighty years. It is true that other dynasties immediately preceding this are credited with reigns of far greater, nay patriarchal, length. But they are frankly mythical. Mes-anni-padda's is the only impossibly long reign in this dynasty, which is evidently the most ancient really historical one of which genuine traditions were preserved, and Mr. Gadd has suggested that, since A-anni-padda is not mentioned in the list, his name has dropped out and his reign added to and credited to his father's. That he really was a king of the dynasty, though not actually mentioned in the list, is shown not only by the actual record found at al-'Ubaid (his foundation-tablet) but by the fact that Meskem-Nannar, the second king of the dynasty in the list, and successor there of Mes-anni-padda, is said in a tablet of later date referring to rebuildings at Nippur to be the son of

'Annani', who is obviously A-anni-padda. And Mes-anni-padda himself is known contemporaneously from the discovery of his wife's seal. We may then regard Mes-anni-padda, A-anni-padda, and Meskem-Nannar as the earliest historical monarchs, not only of Ur, but of Sumer. We have found no monuments yet of either the first or the third, but they will no doubt be found.

Mr. Woolley has finally discovered graves that are earlier than, not later or contemporary with, the existing temple-buildings: a cemetery, in fact, of early Sumerian days, with magnificent objects, including royal head-dresses of gold, vases of gold, a spearhead of electrum, and golden daggers, one with a gold sheath of wonderful workmanship (Fig. 77). With these were the remains of harps and lyres ornamented with gold and inlay pictures in shell, the famous inlay 'standard' in lapis and shell (Fig. 78), now in the British Museum, which shews us pictures of the life of an early Sumerian prince in peace and war, and many other things of interest and importance. The extraordinary remains of slaves and harem women slain to accompany Meskalamshar and Shubad to the grave, throw a new light on Sumerian funerary religious practices. All date before 3000 B.C. and are the best find of grave-goods ever made in Babylonia.

That in these Mr. Woolley has found the actual tombs of royal or semi-royal personages of this most ancient period (he thinks, indeed, of the age preceding it, of which we have no later tradition of any historical value) is very probable: in any case the dead were great personages of great importance—the prince Meskalamshar and the princess Shubad, buried with their sacrificed retainers in the mysterious *gigunu* or lower region of the temple in which, as well as in the other *gigunu* on the top of the ziggurrat, the Moon-god dwelt. We do not otherwise know human sacrifice of this kind in Babylonia, though we have a parallel in the burials of Egyptian chiefs in Nubia, as that of the well-known prince of Aṣyūṭ, Hapžefai, who was governor of Nubia under Senusret I (*c.* 2000 B.C.), and whose burial at Kerma was found by Reisner.[1] So unknown hitherto to our acquaintance with Babylonian customs is this mass human sacrifice and burial, that Mr. Sidney Smith has suggested that these are not normal burials, but mass-sacrifices, specially sacrificed persons (including the chief per-

[1] Reisner, *Boston Mus. Bulletin*, xii (1914), 23; xiii (1915), 71.

sonages) buried in the underground *gigunu* or divine dwelling found in all temples, the whole being a special and extraordinary rite carried out 'for the life of the king' unknown.[1] Still, Meskalamshar does now appear to have been a king, though we cannot yet place him correctly among the early monarchs of Ur, dynastic or pre-dynastic. Mr. Woolley would make him pre-dynastic. The fact that the dynasty of Mes-anni-padda is in the lists the First Dynasty of Ur would argue a serious lack of historical value in the lists if there were any pre-dynastic kings, and Mes-anni-padda's dynasty were not really the first. There is no obvious break in culture between Mes-anni-padda's time and that of the new princes whose burials have been discovered by Mr. Woolley: their art is the art of his day, the art of the time immediately preceding the age of Ur-Nanshē or Ur-Ninā (*c.* 2900 B.C.) at Lagash, whose relics were found by de Sarzec. Mr. Woolley says it must be, from his study of the stratification of the tombs, some centuries older. Why then the sudden break in the lists and shifting from mythology to history at the reign of Mes-anni-padda? Why not in the days of these his supposed predecessors? This is a question which will not be settled without further proofs.

Suffice it that Mr. Woolley's discovery of a treasure of gold and silver which rivals or exceeds that of the shaft-graves at Mycenae, and is certainly nearly, if not quite, two thousand years older than that of Tut'ankhamen, has shewn us that at the beginning of history Ur was the seat of a dynasty of great power and wealth, the focus of a civilization and an art, barbaric perhaps in some respects, but full of energy and beauty and of a promise not in many ways fulfilled in later days. We can find its nearest analogy, of course, to the Egyptian civilization of the time of the Ist Dynasty, with which it seems to have been roughly contemporary.[2] This, as revealed to us by Petrie's excavations of the tombs of the earliest Egyptian kings at Abydos, Garstang's and Newberry's work at Naqāda, Quibell's and Green's at Kom al-Aḥmar (Hierakōnpolis), and the recent finds of Junker at Turrah in the north, was very like that of Ur, in its barbaric promise, energy, and beauty, but it was not technically so accomplished.

[1] *Journ. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Oct., 1928, p. 850 ff. The more natural explanation would seem to be that these are royal tombs, and that in early times the Babylonians did sacrifice wholesale at the burial of their kings.

[2] The generally accepted date for the Ist Dynasty is *c.* 3400–3200 B.C. Scharff's date is *c.* 3000.

77.—THE GOLD AND LAPIS DAGGER AND SHEATH FROM A ROYAL TOMB AT UR (WOOLLEY, 1926–7) (BAGHDAD MUSEUM). *By permission*

The Egyptians of the time of Menes and his successors could not make weapons like those of their Sumerian contemporaries, who had already

invented the socketed (or, rather, shaft-hole) axe and spear-head, and the potter's wheel, while the Egyptians had neither of these inventions. Nor have we any early Egyptian swords like the golden blades in their sheaths found by Mr. Woolley, one of which I illustrate in Fig. 77, as a typical example of the treasures of Ur found by my successor. These blades of gold are only paralleled by the dagger of Tut-'ankhamen sixteen hundred years later at least. Nor was their art anything like so accomplished as that shewn by the mosaic 'standard' found by Mr. Woolley in 1928[1] (Fig. 78), which I have already mentioned (p. 94), with its contrasted scenes of court-life in peace and war.

78.—ONE SIDE OF THE MOSAIC 'STANDARD' FROM A ROYAL TOMB AT UR (WOOLLEY, 1927–8): THE KING IN WAR (BRIT. MUS.)

[1] Now exhibited in the British Museum; No. 121201.

Note the life-like representation of the serfs bringing their contributions to the court on their backs, reminding us of the illustrations of English mediaeval villeins on the Luttrell Psalter. Also note the cinematographic artifice in the lowest register of the war-scene, here illustrated, by which the king's chariot is shewn (from left to right) first advancing at a walk, then quickening with every successive picture, till in the fourth it is going at full gallop, with the charioteer and the spearman (presumably the king?) leaning back, taut and rigid, and the dead rolling beneath the asses' feet. For the horse was not yet known, and the Sumerians used asses and oxen for draught-purposes. We have nothing so advanced as this in Egyptian work of the Ist Dynasty; even the great mace-heads and palettes from Hierakōnpolis are naïf in comparison with it. The record-tablets in wood and ivory from Abydos, with their simple pictures in plain line, are still more so. We know that Egypt developed in two or three centuries a style superior to that of the Sumerians; but about 3000 B.C. Egypt was not the equal of Sumer. Then too she could not rival the marvellous jewellery of Ur, which, though often coarser, is at the same time more often finer than anything the Egyptians made, so far as we know, till the time of the XIIth Dynasty, a thousand years later. The men of Ur and their kings at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. were the most highly civilized men in the world, so far as we know.[1] Their stage of civilization, and that of their Egyptian rivals, may be compared with a modern instance in that of Ashanti or Benin, equally ferocious, to judge by the wholesale massacres of slaves that accompanied the dead rulers to the tomb, certainly at Ur and probably at Abydos, but more highly developed artistically and technically, though

[1] Hall, 'The Discoveries at Ur and the Seniority of Sumerian Civilization', *Antiquity*, March, 1928, p. 56 ff. These conclusions are naturally not welcome to those archaeologists who wish to make Egypt the mother of all civilization, since they point to seniority for Sumerian culture over that of Egypt. This, if proved, would make more comprehensible the undoubted fact that Egypt seems to owe several items of her early culture to Sumer, whereas no trace of any Egyptian *ἀντίδωρον* is visible in Sumer as yet (see Elliot Smith, *Human History*, p. 399, and cf. V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, pp. 113 ff., 197 f.; see below, p. 272). Needless to say, I do not, as Prof. Elliot Smith seems to imagine, credit all early Egyptian civilization with a Sumerian origin, nor even a tenth of it. I do not ignore the pre-dynastic civilization. I entirely agree that there is an unbroken continuity from the earliest Pre-dynastic to the Dynastic civilization in Egypt. But I think the independent culture of Sumer was older than that of Egypt, and that the younger culture borrowed certain elements (only) of civilization from the older, which the latter did not reciprocate.

the skill of the modern metal-workers must not be undervalued at Benin, at any rate.

And now Mr. Woolley, like Prof. Langdon at Kish, considers that he has archaeological proof, in the early stratification of the mounds at Ur, of the historical character of the Deluge legend, which we know in Babylonian religious literature: the obvious original of the Old Testament story of the Flood. Nobody doubts that at a remote period a very great inundation probably happened in Babylonia, which swept away the population, destroyed most landmarks, and by its catastrophic character so impressed itself on the minds of the Sumerians that the tale of it survived in semi-religious form till the end. And it is this tale that was inherited with much else of their cultural make-up, from the Babylonians by the Hebrews. It is remains of the original limited Babylonian catastrophe that Prof. Langdon and Mr. Woolley believe they have found—not, of course, of any universal Deluge. And the discovery, if substantiated, is an extremely interesting one, not only for its Biblical connexion, but also on account of the probable influence of such a catastrophe on the course of early Sumerian history and the development of Sumerian culture.

Mr. Woolley has found, as was to be expected, that Ur itself was an important early settlement, in the prehistoric (?antediluvian) days of the painted pottery users, as at 'Ubaid and Shahrain (pp. 194 ff., 230 ff.).[1]

That is what the most recent discoveries have revealed as to the beginnings of Ur. But what was to come was hidden from my eyes in 1919. What I knew was that second flourishing period in the history of Ur, in the second half of the third millennium, when the later Sumerian princes of Ur ruled; the Third Dynasty of Ur, according to the lists discovered later at Larsa, Nippur, and Kish, the 'Dynasty of Ur', as we knew it then; and the days before it as far back as the time of Ur-Nanshē (or Ur-Ninā) of Lagash (*c.* 2900 B.C.) when Ur was known to have been already a great city, but was not known to have been the dominating power in the land, as the lists and the discoveries have shewn that she was before the days of Ur-Ninā. Ur was undoubtedly one of the most ancient centres of human life and human

[1] Taylor, Thompson and I all found relics of the prehistoric period at Ur in the shape of fragments of painted pottery, cones, flint and obsidian flakes, etc. I came upon a pocket of this stuff by the side of the length of temenos-wall that I uncovered (p. 171), of course unstratified: it had been forced up and out by the wall-builders. Woolley is now finding the actual prehistoric settlement.

worship in 'Iraq. The lists tell us that Mes-anni-padda's dynasty was succeeded by a dynasty in the city of Awan, and that by a second dynasty of Ur, of which at present we have no actual remains. Eannatum, ruler of Lagash (Telloh: on the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥai, north of Ur on the other side of the Euphrates), and grandson of Ur-Ninā, tells us that he destroyed Ur, and he it was no doubt who destroyed the temple of al-'Ubaid, probably at the end of the First Dynasty of Ur, which he brought to a violent end about 2900 B.C. Meskem-Nannar had been succeeded by Elulu, and he by Balulu, the last king, according to the lists. The Second Dynasty, whose six kings reigned for 108 years, was probably contemporary with the successors of Eannatum of Lagash, and was brought to an end by Lugalzaggisi, the prince of Erech, about 2750 B.C., who ruled Ur as well as Lagash. That Ur after the conquest by Eannatum was in some sort dependent on Lagash is shewn by the fact that Enannatum I, brother and successor of Eannatum, dedicated an inscribed clay cone recording the founding of buildings in the temple of Nannar, and Entemena, his nephew, placed there his statue, discovered in 1922–3. But the great copper relief of Imgig or Imdugud, the lion-headed eagle seizing stags, which I found at al-'Ubaid (p. 257) is, despite the fact that it is the special emblem of Ningirsu, the god of Lagash, perhaps not an actual relic of Lagashite dominion, as at first I thought; since it is of the same style as the rest of the copper works of art found there, and must presumably belong to the work of the original builder, A-anni-padda, though it would be tempting to regard it as imposed on the place after its destruction by Eannatum as his stamp or mark and that of his city-god. Still, Imdugud, though the bird of the Lagashite god, is not necessarily always to be associated with Lagash. Eannatum took not only Ur, but most of the rest of Babylonia, with probably an undefined claim to lordship over Euphratean lands further north and west in the direction of Syria, which was inherited by Lugalzaggisi of Erech, who overthrew the last early prince of Lagash, Urukagina, and was himself overthrown by Sargon of Agade.

The Semitic dynasty of Agade took over Ur as part of their inheritance, and it was not until the Kurdish mountain-chiefs of Gutium had imposed their rule on Babylonia, in succession to the Akkadians, that Ur once more raised her head, when, in alliance with Erech, she revolted under a prince named Ur-Engur or, better, Ur-Nammu (*c.* 2300 B.C.),

who was a subject of Utukhēgal, king of Erech. The Gutian king Tirigān defeated, Ur-Nammu turned against his suzerain, Utukhēgal was overthrown, and Ur-Nammu founded the Third Dynasty of Ur. The power of Ur was rapidly extended by him northwards, and his son Dungi or Shulgi took the north country and ruled over the city of Ashur[1] and the land of Assyria, no doubt extending the influence of Ur through this conquest into the Hittite land of eastern Anatolia, where for centuries past Babylonian influence had been spread far and wide through the medium of Mesopotamian merchant-colonies closely connected with Assyria.

The period of Ur-Nammu, Shulgi, and Bur-Sin I was the acme of the power of Ur. Ruled by intelligent and energetic kings she then was incontestably the most brilliant of the city-states, as Lagash had been earlier and as Babylon was to be later. Theirs are the royal names we shall meet with most in describing archaeological discoveries at Ur and its neighbourhood, as the remains of their building activities are visible everywhere. Ur-Nammu it was who built the great *ziggurrat* or temple-tower (probably over a more ancient core), and set up a limestone stele with fine sculpture in high relief, found by Mr. Woolley in 1924–5 (now at Philadelphia),[2] on which the king is represented as performing the ceremonies in connexion with the building: he makes offerings to Nannar and Ningal, and receives the order to build the ziggurrat, he carries the tools of the builder in procession (Fig. 79): men beat the big drum ecclesiastic, and winged angels swoop down from heaven to express divine approval of the royal proceedings. This in spite of its fragmentary character is a very fine example of the art of the time. Under the Sumerian kings of the Third Dynasty Ur was a magnificent city, with its new and splendid ziggurrat, and temple-buildings of Nannar, its populous streets, and the tree-shaded canals leading to and from its great river, on which hundreds of ships swam that brought to Nannar's city the products of north and west and east and south—the pine and cedar-wood of Lebanon, and the silver and copper of Anatolia and the Caucasus, the dolerite, basalt, and obsidian of Armenia, the lapis and alabaster of Persia, the bitumen of Hit, the fine stone of Māgan, the frankincense of Arabia, for aught we know the gold and linen of Egypt, or even the precious things of Hind itself.

[1] Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 131.
[2] *Ant. Journ.*, V (1925), p. 397 ff.

But this glory was soon to depart. It lasted little longer than a century and a half, till the Elamites, in alliance with Ishbi-irra, a prince of Mari (on the middle Euphrates) who had possessed himself of the city of Isin, in Central Babylonia, north of Ur, took Ur, and carried off her last king Ibi-Sin captive to Elam (*c.* 2170 B.C.). The Elamites left the city to their ally at Isin, who continued to rule it till, a century later, Gungunum, prince of Larsa, whose chiefs had continued to be independent of Isin, took it from Libit-Ishtar of Isin. The new conqueror did not disturb existing arrangements at Ur, where Libit-Ishtar's nephew (?) Enannatum continued in his office as high-priest of Nannar, as we see from his inscriptions pub-

79.—UR-NAMMU GOING FORTH TO LAY THE FOUNDATION OF THE ZIGGURRAT OF UR: FROM THE GREAT STELE (WOOLLEY, 1924–5)

lished in *Ur: Royal Inscriptions*, 103, 104. The Larsa kings, Sumuilum, Nur-Adad, and Sin-idinnam, all ruled Ur in spite of the invasion of the Assyrian Ilu-shuma (*c.* 2030 B.C.), and of attempts by Isin to recover the city that were finally defeated by Siniddinam, as we learn from brick-inscriptions at Ur. When Larsa fell into the hands of the Elamite conqueror Kudur-Mabug, Ur with Larsa was handed over by him to his son Warad-Sin, who built in the shrine of Nannar there. After the overthrow of his brother and successor Rim-Sin by Ḫammurabi of Babylon, Ur with the rest of the domain of Larsa fell into the hands of the conqueror. It was taken from his successor Samsu-iluna in the revolt of the Sea-land, a last despairing outflare of Sumerian nationality against the Semitic power and

influence which was semitizing the culture of Babylonia as fast as French influence has gallicized Belgium and would have gallicized us had not the opportunity to develop been given to our independent national spirit by the Hundred Years' War.

But Sumer could not retain her nationality: Samsu-iluna re-took Ur and destroyed her walls (*c.* 1885 B.C.), and with Sumer sank Ur also below the horizon. The centring of political power throughout Mesopotamia at Babylon, the growing lack of commerce owing to the retirement of the sea further and further away (so that Ur was now at the end of days of canal and river journey from the Gulf instead of being, as she had probably been a thousand years before, comparatively near it), the drying-up of canals due to difficult political conditions and the resulting lack of good government, the ruin caused by war, brought Ur down very low, so that during the long period of the Kassite dynasty (*c.* 1710–1180 B.C.) we hear little of her, though King Kurigalzu added to the temple.

To the man in the street the chief interest of Ur is doubtless Abraham. 'Abraham we know, and Terah we know, but who are ye, Ur-Nammu and Shulgi?' The archaeologist replies that whereas he knows Ur-Nammu and Shulgi well, he knows nothing of either Abraham or Terah. We have nothing from Ur yet that can be brought into any kind of definite relationship with the Abrahamic saga. The Biblical tradition seems, however, to put Abraham at Ur about the time of the kings of Larsa and of Babylon, whether the Amraphel of his story was Ḫammurabi himself or no: and many think he was. There is increasing evidence that at this very time the tribe of Ḫabirai or Ḫabiru, the ancestors of the Ibhrīm or Hebrews, moved northwards from the desert vicinity of Ur and the modern Sūq ash-Shuyūkh and Zubair, along the Euphrates to North-Mesopotamia, where was the other most ancient seat of the worship of the moon-god, Nannar or Sin, at Harran, the sister-city of Ur. These Hebrews lived in the north-land and in the Syrian desert, some taking necessary service as warriors with the Hittites, until in the fullness of time (*c.* 1380 B.C.) they descended into the Promised Land, there uniting with the Israelitish tribe that (in my view) had come out of Egypt with the Hyksos when the latter were expelled by the Egyptians (*c.* 1580 B.C.),[1] and had since wandered as nomads in the wilderness. From this we see how the Abrahamic saga

[1] See Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, pp. 213, 408.

reflects the fact of the wandering of the ancestors of the Hebrews from Ur to Harran and thence into Palestine. But beyond the mention of the Ḫabiru on tablets (not found at Ur) we have no contemporary contact with them at Ur in Abrahamic times. Nevertheless it is of extraordinary interest to see the remains of this city associated with the very beginnings of one of the main elements in the Jewish race, and to visualize her as she was in the days when Ḫabiru dwelt in her neighbourhood (for they were desert- not town-dwellers, though not real nomad Arabs). Those days were, however, rather days of wars and beginning of decline rather than the imperial times of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi.

Under the Kassites we have records of the building-activity of Kurigalzu Ṣiḫru ('the Little') at Ur (*c.* 1340 B.C.), but nothing else until in later days we hear again of Ur when, in common with other Babylonian cities, she revolted against Sennacherib of Assyria with Merodach-baladan the Chaldaean and the Elamites in 703 B.C. After Sennacherib's speedy victory she was not besieged and did not suffer, nor do we hear of anything happening to her when in 689 Sennacherib sacked and destroyed revolting Babylon. In the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin in 652 against Ashurbanipal, Ur does not seem to have taken part, at any rate at first, since Southern Babylonia continued faithful to Assyria for a time. Later on Ur seems to have fallen away for a time. In letters of the period it is spoken of as a most important city, with many temples and much wealth; and Ashurbanipal was much concerned to place it under a loyal governor who would defend it against Shamash-shum-ukin and Ummanigash the Elamite.[1] I found remains of buildings of this later Ur in chambers built on top of the old ruined walls of Ur-Nammu in Ē-khursag (p. 163), and cuneiform tablets of the time of Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu, referring to business matters of that time (p. 165).

After the destruction of Nineveh in 612 we find the neo-Babylonian kings devoting a good deal of their attention to the ancient city. Nebuchadrezzar re-built the great temenos-wall Ē-temen-ni-gur that had long been ruined, and the temple Ē-nun-makh (p. 113) and the great courtyard (p. 112) where an Assyrian governor had also made improvements. Nebuchadrezzar found the place so ruinous that his restorations had to be not only general but radical. As is often the case with restorations, his

[1] Olmstead. *History of Assyria*, p. 445.

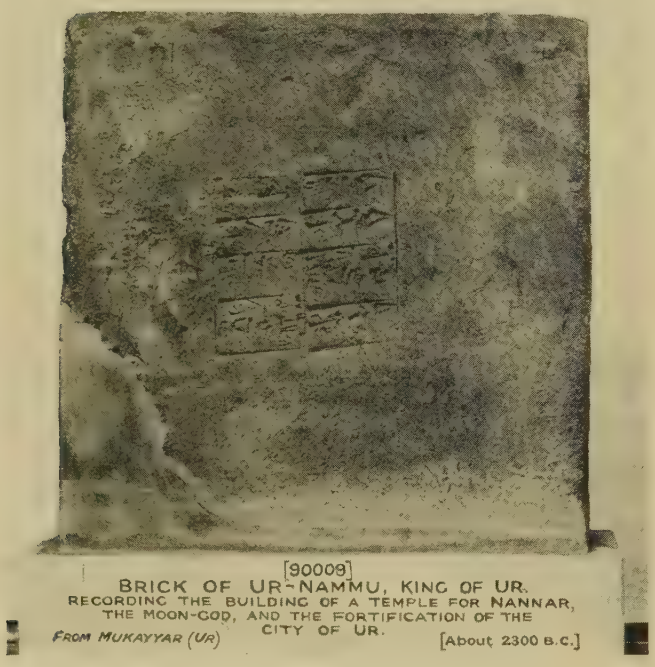
work found by no means favour in the sight of many of his contemporaries, especially the religious conservatives. And Nabonidus, with his new Ē-gipar (p. 113) or convent of priestesses, broke so entirely with tradition (probably the fact that he did not abide by the earlier plan of the building was to his disfavour) that despite his placing of his own daughter here as abbess or chief-priestess (p. 115), he could not placate the critics, who were much displeased with him on other religious grounds. He moved gods about too much, he introduced heretical ideas from Harran (in which he was much interested) into Ur, he did this and that and the other thing that was all wrong, he could do nothing right in priestly eyes. Probably he was too clever: he knew too much. And quite possibly he got that wrong. He was a religious antiquarian,[1] and a royal religious antiquarian may be rather a dangerous person to have about. Evidently the priests thought so, and Cyrus the Persian took advantage of the fact, which suited his political book completely. The general unpopularity of the well-meaning royal archaeologist played into his hands. When he took Babylon and entered into the heritage of Belshazzar he eschewed the errors of Nabonidus and comported himself towards the gods of his newly acquired kingdom with strictly official correctitude. He was a Magian, but intolerance of other religions was no part of his creed or that of his Zoroastrian successor, Darius.[2] At Ur he built a gate and carried out various repairs in Ē-nun-makh. And with him we take leave of Ur, which probably in the Parthian period ceased to be an inhabited city. Its people migrated elsewhere. Its canals dried up, its lands became the prey of the desert or the marsh. Its ruins, covered gradually with wind-blown sand, became the brown and green mounds beneath the burnt red ziggurrat that I saw on 14 February, 1919.

I have made mention above of many buildings at Ur that Mr. Woolley has found beneath the mounds in his excavations of 1922–9. We know their names and those of the kings and governors who built them, from the inscriptions on their bricks. Every ancient Mesopotamian building is thus provided on a certain number of its bricks with the record

[1] He collected old gods, and his daughter the 'abbess' had a little museum at Ur which Mr. Woolley has discovered! (*Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 204).

[2] There is no proof or likelihood that the Persians, whether Magians or Zoroastrians, did anything to oppress the religion of Babylonia, which was a full working order till the Roman-Parthian period, when it collapsed quite suddenly with its art and culture (Hall, in the *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, iii, 332).

of its builders, and in addition a foundation-tablet or cylinder was also placed in the building as we have seen (p. 80). The square bricks (Fig. 80), with the triangle and star inscriptions found by Pietro della Valle (p. 72, *n.*) are mostly those of Ur-Nammu, of Shulgi, and of Bur-Sin, another king of this dynasty, who built also and more especially at Eridu (Abu Shahrain). They are the bricks of the ziggurrat and of many of the other buildings of the time, of which Taylor and I found some remains, and Mr. Woolley has found many more. They strewed the site in every direction when I went there, despite the fact that every officer and man who visited Ur had gone off with one or a piece of one under his arm as a souvenir, whether for himself or for some masonic lodge in which he was interested; for, as I was informed (I am not a Mason), a brick from Ur of the Chaldees was one of the more acceptable presents that a British Lodge could receive. Unhappily these bricks are so large (14 in. square) and so heavy (average weight 18 lb.) that very many of them never got much further than Naṣirīyyah or even Ur Junction, and how many of these souvenirs were thrown away on trek or cast into the sea on the return voyage it is impossible to say! Well, there is an imposing row of them in the British Museum, for all former owners to see who wish to revive their memories of their lost trophies!


[90009]
BRICK OF UR-NAMMU, KING OF UR.
RECORDING THE BUILDING OF A TEMPLE FOR NANNAR, THE MOON-GOD, AND THE FORTIFICATION OF THE CITY OF UR.
FROM MUKAYYAR (UR)
[About 2300 B.C.]

80.—BRICK OF UR-NAMMU: UR

These are mighty bricks, and they would be an object-lesson to the modern 'Iraqi brickmaker, if he were sufficiently intelligent to profit by it.

'Four-square' they are, and hard-baked as iron. His are wretched little shaky, wavy, half-baked things about a third of the size. Modern 'Iraqi bricks are the despair of British builders and architects in 'Mespot'. And the unburnt bricks of the ancients are stout and weighty, too. Shulgi had affected an oblong brick, which he used at al-'Ubaid, as Bur-Sin did at Shahrain (Fig. 218). And Shulgi's are often marked with two deep impressions on one broad side, which is the senseless survival of the two holes for thumb and finger which the more ancient builders of A-anni-padda's time had made upon the convex side of their (smaller) plano-convex bricks, to enable them to be carried when wet (Fig. 81; see p. 264). Some bricks from Ur and Shahrain (of the time of the Larsa king Siniddinam, *c.* 1990 B.C.) are, as I have said, marked with two crescents back to back, which may have something to do with the Moon-cult and may perhaps supply an origin for the odd name of Abu Shahrain, 'Father [*i.e.*, Possessor]

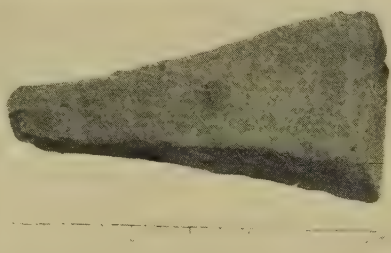
81.—PLANO-CONVEX BRICK AND TWO SHULGI BRICKS: AL-'UBAID

of Two Crescents' or 'Moons'. The plano-convex brick had died out by Sargonide times. It had always been very roughly made, though often hard baked. The Third Dynasty form was a great improvement. The later ancient burnt bricks usually run a little smaller than those of the Third Dynasty, but are still square or oblong. They record the buildings of many kings after the second destruction of Ur by the Elamites at the end of the Third Dynasty, of which I found probable traces (p. 165). Mr. Woolley has discovered building after building from the time of the Third Dynasty to that of the Persians.

So we trace the history of the development of a great complex of buildings like the temples of Ur with the help of the inscriptions on its bricks. 'For Nannar, lord of heaven, his lord, Ur-Nammu the king of Ur has built his temple.' 'For Anu, king of the gods, his king, Ur-Nammu the king of Ur has planted the great garden and has built the shrine in a pure place.' 'For Nannar, King of Ur, his king, Kurigalzu, the mighty

king, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions, has renewed Ē-gish-shir-gal his beloved house.' And so forth. It was not every brick that was inscribed thus. Many have no inscriptions. But in every building a large number always bear the square seal-like stamp with the inscription of the king who built or added to it, usually with the remains clinging to it of the native bitumen from Hit, which in the case of burnt bricks was used for mortar, and from which Ur itself takes its modern name of *al-Muqayyar*, 'the pitched'. One or two occasionally bear an unofficial sign-manual in the shape of the footprint of an animal that has stepped on them when the clay was wet—as, for instance, the imprint of the foot of a late-Sumerian dog that marks a brick (Fig. 82) found by Mr. Thompson at Shahrain. The corners of walls were often carefully rounded, and quoin-shaped bricks (Fig. 83, from al-'Ubaid) utilized when necessary.

82.—BRICK WITH IMPRESSION OF A DOG'S FOOT: SHAHRAIN

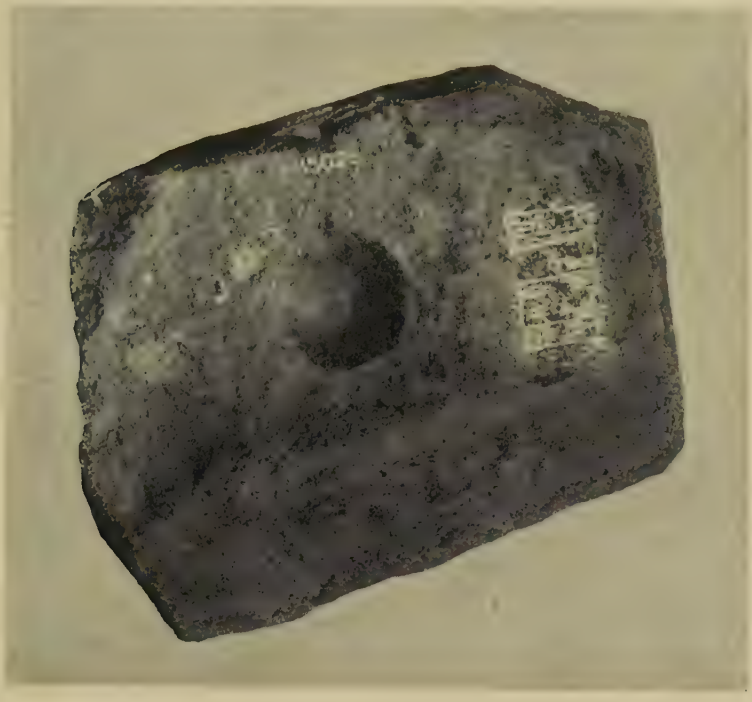


83.—QUOIN BRICK

Besides bricks, the dolerite or diorite boulders that were used for the pivots of the great wood and bronze temple-doors, with their smooth-worn cavities in which the pivot moved as in a socket, also bear the inscriptions of the founders (Fig. 84). A large collection, from Ur and elsewhere, of these weighty unshaped masses of stone is in the British Museum.

Long inscriptions, such as those of the later Assyrian kings, we do not yet find.

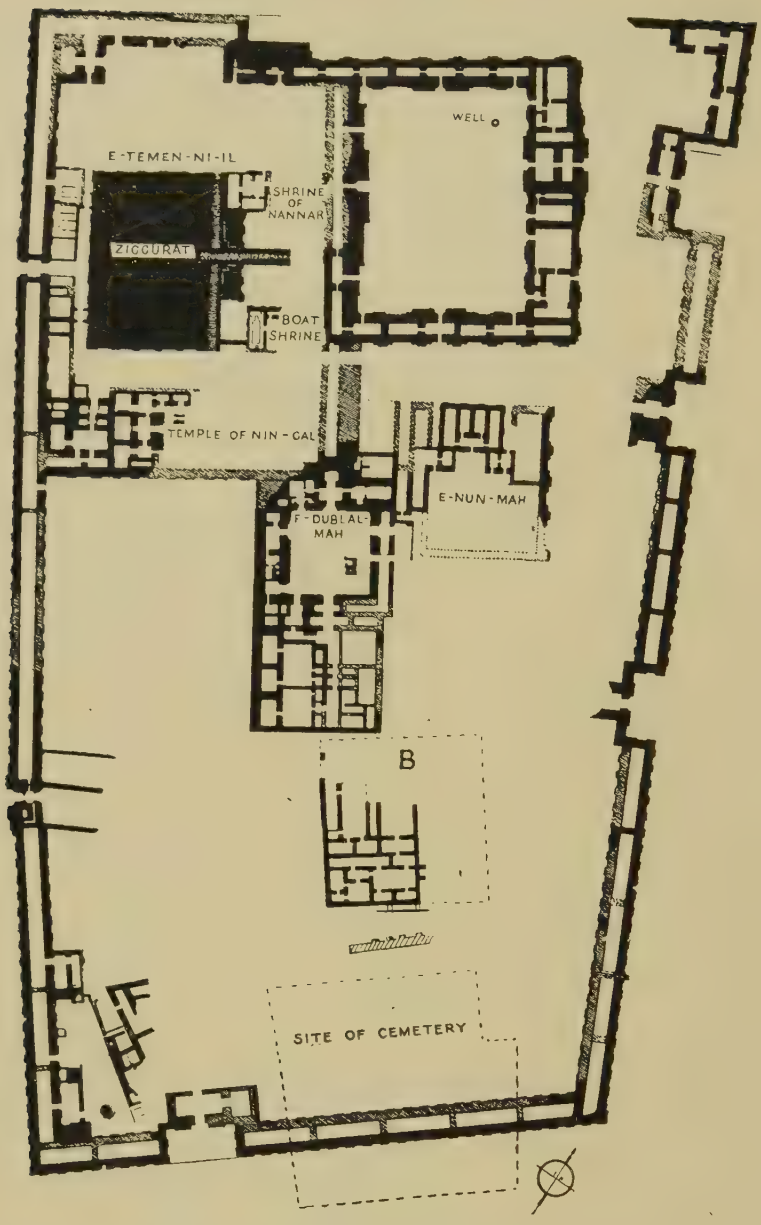
With these data, as interpreted for him by the cuneiform scholars associated with him in his work, Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum, the Rev. Dr. Leon Legrain from Philadelphia, and the Rev. E. Burrows, S.J., Mr. Woolley has been able to trace the history of the temple of the Moon-god from the earliest to the latest period



84.—DOLERITE DOOR-SOCKET OF UR-NAMMU, UR (SEEN FROM ABOVE)

of Babylonian culture. He has determined its extent within the great temenos-wall (Fig. 85), of which I found the first and the best preserved trace in 1919 (p. 171; Fig. 125), and has provisionally identified the chief buildings by the names found on the bricks. His results are given in detail in his yearly reports on the excavations published in the *Antiquaries' Journal* during the past six years, and his final publication of the whole will, it is hoped, see the light after no long interval. Meanwhile his results may be summarized as follows.

The temple of the Moon-god, *Ē-gish-shir-gal*, 'The House of Light',



85.—PLAN OF THE TEMENOS OF NANNAR'S TEMPLE, UR, AS EXCAVATED BY WOOLLEY

Shewing buildings in the neo-Babylonian period, with the older building B(HT) and the site of the early cemetery marked. (*After* Woolley, *with additions*)

and its subsidiary buildings, occupy the northern half of the mounds, at the north-west end of which the ziggurrat stands. They were enclosed within a temenos-wall (*Ê-temen-ni-gur*, 'The House of the Foundation that

is clothed with Splendour'),[1] of sun-burnt brick surrounding an irregular parallelogram with its long sides to south-west and north-east, roughly parallel with the ziggurrat, *Ē-lugal-galga-si-sa*, 'The House of the King of Right Counsel', which stood in the north-west corner of this space; the chief temple-buildings south and south-east of it. The south-east wall abutted on the transverse wadi through which in ancient days flowed a canal or perhaps an actual arm of the Euphrates, long since dried up, south of which was the town itself. The actual wall, of which the remains exist to-day, was built by Nebuchadrezzar, but no doubt it succeeds a far older wall. There were at least six gates in it, probably seven, since the north-west wall has not been completely traced. These gates are irregularly placed, three in the north-east wall, one in the south-east, and two in the south-west. Those in the north-east and south-east walls are much larger, with towers originally and with gate-houses, than those in the south-west wall, which are merely sally-ports, on the edge of the mounds. Here the wall of the temenos is probably identical with the town-wall itself, which passed to the north and east considerably east of the temenos, where it can easily be traced, and where in one spot I made a tentative examination of it (p. 172), which Mr. Woolley has continued. Of the temenos gates one was originally ascribed by Mr. Woolley to Bur-Sin, while another was restored by Nabonidus and another by Cyrus the Persian.

The ziggurrat stood on a terrace, with, apparently, its own special temenos-wall enclosing it. The south-west side of this was formed by the great temenos-wall. South-east of the ziggurrat was the temple of the goddess Ningal, excavated by Mr. Woolley in 1924–5, with its 'upper structure due to the Assyrian governor, Sin-balatsu-iqbi (*c.* 650 B.C.), and to the Neo-Babylonian kings of Babylon, and below it an earlier building of Kurigalzu (*c.* 1340 B.C.). South-west, in the narrow space between the ziggurrat and the temenos-wall were minor buildings, built against the wall. These were probably hospices where pilgrims were entertained by the *pallakis*-priestesses of the god. They stood in front of a gate in the wall, which in those days probably led on to the bank of a canal, which we can imagine shaded with trees, that no doubt ran at the foot of the mound

[1] Mr. Woolley now thinks that this name refers not to the temenos-wall but to the enclosed platform on which the ziggurrat stands.

parallel with the south-western wall of the temenos. North-west of the ziggurrat lay buildings of the older temple of Nannar, built by Ur-Nammu, which was later left to go to ruin. In neo-Babylonian times a small temple-building was set on the north-eastern side of the tower-platform in the corner between the north flight of ziggurrat steps and the angle-buttress of the tower. In a corresponding position south of the central stairway was another building of the same date which Dr. Legrain suggests contained the sacred boat of the Moon, the crescent-shaped bark in which the god crossed the sky, mentioned in late-Babylonian texts as having been dedicated at Ur.

86.—AIR-VIEW OF THE ZIGGURRAT, UR, FROM N.E., SHEWING THE TRIPLE STAIRWAY, TERRACE, AND OTHER BUILDINGS EXCAVATED BY WOOLLEY

To the east of the ziggurrat and its great triple stairway revealed by Woolley and Newton lies the great quadrangular courtyard, covering twice the superficies of the ziggurrat, which was partly excavated in the same year (1923–4) as the ziggurrat, partly later. Its sides are formed by ranges of chambers, and its walls are notable for the use in them of the half-column in brick. It has been denied by the German excavators at Babylon that the column was known to the Babylonians; but my work at al-'Ubaid shewed in 1919 that columns of mosaic work (p. 248; Figs. 229, 230) were used by the Sumerians as early as 3000 B.C. A colonnade of early Sumerian date has been found at

Kish,[1] and brick columns of Gudea at Telloh.[2] Finally, Woolley has this year found at Ur a column like those at Telloh. The building with the half-columns at Ur dates from the time of Kurigalzu II, the Kassite, about 1340 B.C., and the pillared 'Parthian' building at Nippur (so dubbed by Hilprecht, presumably merely because it had columns) is therefore very possibly, as Dr. Peters, its discoverer, said, of Kassite date. And it may be Sumerian, as are the brick columns of Gudea at Telloh, and, presumably, the similar column at Ur.[3]

Even if the al-'Ubaid columns were doorposts, they were none the less free-standing, and what in English we should call columns.

South of the courtyard was the temple-building *Ē-nun-makh*, forming part of the sanctuary of the Moon-god and his consort, with long corridor-like rooms of burnt brick. This building was rebuilt entirely by Nebuchadrezzar, and afterwards restored by Cyrus. In one of its rooms between the Cyrus-pavement and that of Nebuchadrezzar was found a treasure-hoard of the sixth century B.C., consisting of 'gold jewellery, silver, and bronze vessels, and beads of many varieties of precious stone'. No doubt they were buried there for security at the time of the Persian conquest, and never reclaimed. Some priest, perhaps, buried his property in the time of war, and was killed before he could recover it.

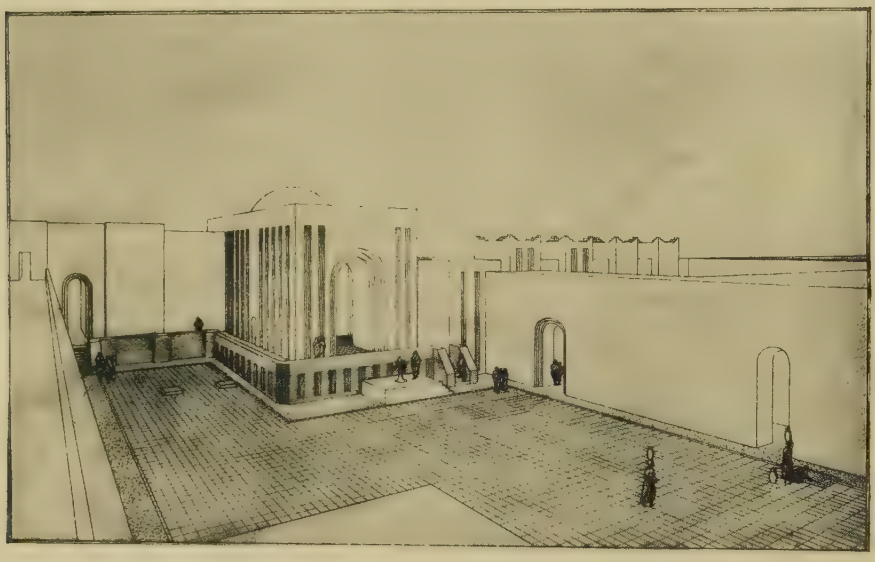
South of Ē-nun-makh was a small building, *Ē-dublal-makh* ('The House of the Noble Library'), which Taylor had already begun to investigate (p. 88). It was built by Kurigalzu on the foundations of an older building, and its shrine (Figs. 87, 88) was incorporated by Nabonidus in his new great convent for the temple-priestesses, *E-Gi(g)-par*, 'The *Gipar* House', which replaced an original *Gig-par-ku*, or 'Holy Gipar', that dated back to the First Dynasty of Ur, and had been rebuilt in a grand style by Ur-Nammu and Bur-Sin of the Third Dynasty, and again rebuilt on a different plan after its destruction in the reign of Samsu-iluna. The building of the *Gipar* of the Third Dynasty, as rebuilt under the kings of Isin (*c.* 2000 B.C.), was one of the finest at Ur: an almost exact square measuring 79 m. by 76·50 m., with massive walls, enclosing two temples and minor shrines, corridors, and chambers, giving us 'the most complete plan

[1] Langdon, *Kish*, i, pll. xi, xii. [2] De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, ii, pl. 53.
[3] Found in the present season (1930); *Times*, April 8, 1930.

that we possess of a Sumerian temple-complex'. In it Mr. Woolley found some of the finest of the smaller works of art that have been discovered at Ur.

87.—*Ê-DUBLAL-MAKH*, EXCAVATED BY WOOLLEY, 1924–5

This building was replaced by Nabonidus on a new plan, and the new convent was placed under the rule as abbess of one of his daughters,



88.—RESTORATION OF *Ê-DUBLAL-MAKH*: KURIGALZU PERIOD

Bel-shalti-Nannar ('Nannar is the lord of victory'). He tells us in an inscription that the old Ē-gi-par had gone to ruin and apparently the convent was in a state of dissolution, for 'Nannar desired a priestess',

and after consulting the omens, the king appointed his daughter to the vacant position.

'Since there had been a ritual for the priestess from days of old, and its form was not known, I pondered daily. The appointed time arrived that I should open the gates, I looked and saw the old memorial inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, son of Enurta-nadin-shum, a former king, who drew a figure of a priestess whereon were a snake, her symbols of office, her dress and her *tiqnu*, and put it in the E-gi-par; the old tablets, originals and copies, I brought out. A *dalbu* (water-wheel ?) like the old one I made. The memorial stone which belonged to it (E-gi-par) and the furniture of its house I constructed anew, I wrote thereon and set it before Sin (Nannar) and Ningal my lords. At that time the splendid floor in the E-gi-par, the pure abode, the place of the rites of the priestess, had fallen in, and it was like a ruin; the twigs, fruit, branches therein I reached (by digging) and I removed the wood and the dust of its ruin. I examined the house, and recognized its foundation-area; I saw the inscriptions with the names of preceding kings of old therein. I saw the old inscription of En-an-e-ul, the priestess of Ur, the daughter of Kudur-Mabug, the sister of Rim-Sin, king of Ur who founded E-gi-par and restored it, and at the side of E-gi-par set a wall round above the old priestesses' lying-place, and I built E-gi-par anew like the old. Its rooms and shrines I constructed anew like the old; at the side of E-gi-par I built anew the shrine of Bel-shalti-Nannar, my daughter, the priestess of Sin. I purified my daughter and offered her to Sin and Ningal my lords.'[1]

It is probable from the mention of the ancient remains of trees that Nabonidus found in his archaeological excavation that the Ē-gi-par was a building shaded by trees, and the mention of a water-wheel (?) or *naura* would argue that this shaded pleasaunce or 'terrasse ombragée' (as Père Dhorme calls it)[2] extended from the building to the temenos-wall and the canal beyond it. And it is possible that the buildings between the ziggurrat and the Nabonidus-gate (see p. 116) were in a sense part of the Ē-gi-par, and were houses where priestesses of the lower order plied their trade, as Herodotus describes it (i. 119).

The inscription of the royal sister of Rim-Sin, that Nabonidus found, has not been re-discovered by Mr. Woolley, but that of Bur-Sin, 'For Ningal his lady, Bur-Sin the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, has built the splendid *Gi(g)-par*, her beloved temple, and for his own life has devoted it', shews that Nabonidus was incorrect in attributing the foundation as well as the restoration of the Ē-gi-par to Rim-Sin. And we have seen that it had existed long before Bur-Sin's time (p. 113). The temple of Ningal was evidently included in the general designation of the Ē-gi-par, which, according to Messrs. Smith and Gadd, must have

[1] Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 55.

[2] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xi, pp. 106–8.

covered the whole of the tract immediately south of the ziggurrat, on and below its platform, including the street-quarter, mentioned above (p. 115), which is west of the Gi-par proper and south of Ningal's temple. With this conclusion, however, Mr. Woolley, I understand, does not agree.

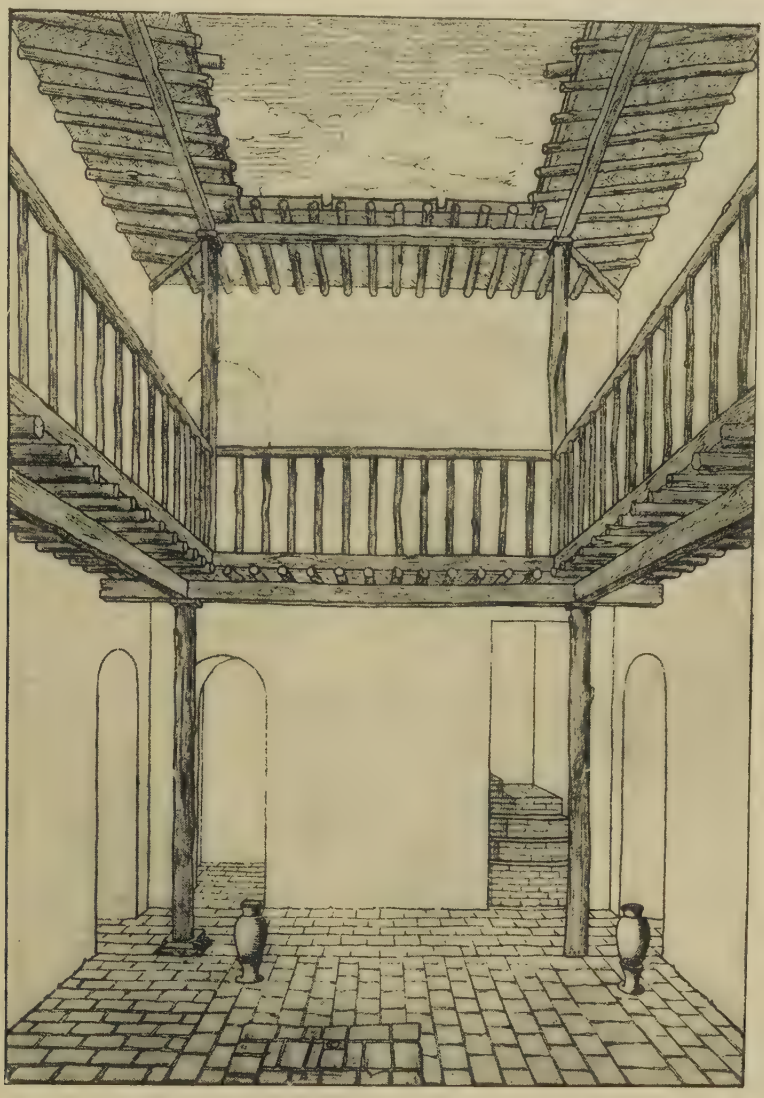
South-east of this building was a palace of the king Ur-Nammu, *Ē-kharsag*, 'House of the Mountain', which though a palace was still regarded as part of the great temple of Nannar, as its bricks testify. This building ('B', or 'HT', as Mr. Woolley designates it) was discovered and partly excavated by me in 1919 (p. 158 ff.). Somewhere to the east of it was another building called *Ē-makh*, 'The noble house', the foundation-tablet of which, dedicated by Ur-Nammu,[1] and reading 'For Ninsun his goddess, Ur-Nammu the mighty man, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, Ē-makh her temple has built': was found by me thrown out in rubbish near the south-east wall of Ē-kharsag; Mr. Woolley later found a pottery cone near the same spot also mentioning Ē-makh. But the building itself has not yet been found. In its stead, in the place where it at first was thought it ought to be, he has discovered the subterranean golden burials of the earliest dynasties of Ur.[2]

We now come to the south-east wall of the great temenos, and the wadi through which in ancient days flowed a canal, on the opposite side of which are the mounds that still cover the streets of the city of Ur, in which I made a trial investigation.

East of the temenos and south of the wadi was the ancient city, its houses mingled with the tombs of the dead in the insanitary manner characteristic of ancient Babylonia. The excavation of the city has only been begun. I dug out a street or two south of the wadi (p. 177 ff.), and Mr. Woolley has carefully excavated streets and houses of an inhabited quarter on a mound abutting against but outside the south-west wall of the temenos, near and south of where I made my first excavation in 1919 (at 'A'), finding houses and tombs, and several fine inscribed tablets (p. 172 ff.). In the *Antiquaries' Journal*, October 1927, Mr. Woolley gives an interesting plan and description of what he found: three narrow streets, which he calls, after streets in the city of Bath, 'Gay Street', 'Quiet Street', and 'New Street',

[1] *Ur: Royal Inscriptions*, No. 47. [2] See p. 94 ff.

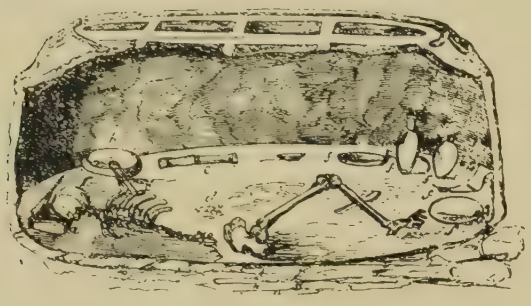
with house-complexes between them, built partly of burnt brick, and of far superior construction and architectural style to anything hitherto found in Babylonia, with large rooms, fairly lofty *līwāns* or halls, open paved



89.—RESTORATION OF THE COURT OF AN ANCIENT HOUSE AT UR

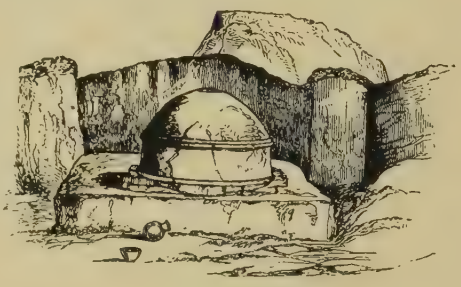
courts, arched doors, and stairs partly of brick. The houses must have resembled very closely modern 'Iraqi town-houses of the better class, with the usual wooden galleries (no doubt), round the courts at first-floor level (see Fig. 89). They were provided with lavatories and drains. In the

usual Eastern manner, to the street they presented a blank wall, with but a single narrow doorway. Probably there were windows, but only on the upper floor, as is still usual to-day. The date of these houses can be fixed approximately between 2100 and 1900 B.C. They were destroyed by fire, like so much else at Ur, in the sack by the Babylonians after the city's revolt in the twelfth year of the Babylonian king Samsu-iluna (*c.* 1885 B.C.). The discovery of the existence of the arch so early is important.



90.—INVERTED LARNAX BURIAL, FOUND BY TAYLOR

Mixed up with the houses were the tombs, as Taylor found them and as I found them near by, some plain inverted larnax-burials beneath the living-rooms (Fig. 90), others with lidless larnakes placed in quite elaborate barrel- or corbel-vaulted chambers of brick (Fig. 74), sometimes with what may be regarded as chapels over them: children were usually buried in jars or bowls (Fig. 92). Sometimes the house in which a tomb was placed seems to have been walled up and thenceforward no longer inhabited; but it is evident that this was by no means the invariable rule, as Mr. Woolley found many bodies in some of these tombs, in which new burials were constant. He suggests that after a time a whole quarter may have become so insanitary on account of these burials that it had to be abandoned, and was not reoccupied for many years; this would account for the considerable straggling extent of the area occupied



91.—BURIAL IN INVERTED BOWL, FOUND BY TAYLOR

92.—POTTERY BOWLS IN WHICH BABIES WERE BURIED: UR, 1919

by habitations in their cities. This is specially noticeable at Nippur. As burials increased in a certain quarter the living would gradually shift, leaving the houses to caretakers of the graves, so that after a time it would much resemble a modern Egyptian cemetery such as that east of Cairo ('The Tombs of the Khalifs'), or that at Aṣyūṭ, where the town of the dead, with its caretakers' houses and chapels, looks as important as that of the living. The Egyptians, however, at no period ever lived habitually with their dead under the floors of their houses (possibly babies were occasionally so buried); they buried their great dead in brick- or stone-built 'mastabas' or in rock-cut tombs in the cliffs, their lesser folk much as they do now, in graves set about with little watchmen's huts and chapels of brick. But they could usually dig their tombs in the desert rock beyond the cultivated land, as now, or at any rate in dry desert sand. The Babylonians had no rock to dig in, and to bury out on the steppe was to abandon their dead to the jackals. So they had to dispose of their dead, since they did not normally cremate, on the town-mounds themselves, which meant burying beneath the floors of houses or walling up the dead in cupboards, so to speak. The same custom of house-burial was adopted apparently by the prehistoric Greeks sometimes, on the mainland at any rate:[1] even in Crete children were buried sometimes beneath house-floors. The custom possibly came to Greece ultimately from Babylon through Anatolia, with the pottery larnax itself.[2] It was not a nice custom. But we ourselves were hardly, till the middle of the nineteenth century, in a position to throw stones at the Babylonians in this matter, for till the time when Taylor was digging at Ur we still permitted bodies to be buried beneath the floors of churches, an unhealthy practice which was equally in vogue in North Germany and Scandinavia until quite lately. We know 'Pam's' breezy remarks as Home Secretary in 1854, on the subject: 'I have thought it right to discontinue everywhere the barbarous Practice of depositing Human Bodies under the Floor of Buildings frequented by human Multitudes. . . . People might as well want to bury Dead Bodies in the Cellars of their Houses, or under their Libraries, as in Churches."[3] At Ur they did.

There remain but few places within Ē-gish-shir-gal which Mr.

[1] Hall, *The Bronze Age Civilization of Greece*, p. 191. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Guedalla, *Gladstone and Palmerston*, p. 99.

Woolley has not investigated. To the south of the wadi the mounds still extend as I saw them, awaiting the spade; though whether they will yield

93.—VERTICAL AIR-VIEW OF WOOLLEY'S EXCAVATIONS AT UR, 1927, SHEWING THE ZIGGURRAT AND TEMPLES IN THE TEMENOS, WITH EMBANKMENTS AND DUMPS OF EXCAVATION-TRAMWAY

more than an unending series of streets and graves remains to be seen. Mr. Woolley has shewn, however, that there is much to be learnt from their excavation, monotonous though they may be.

Such are the results that Mr. Woolley's seven years' work have yielded. A whole ancient sanctuary, with tombs of great importance, has been disinterred from those sandy mounds, covered with a scanty herbage, and with bricks and stone blocks lying here and there, which I saw in 1919. To me it has been of enormous interest to watch from year to year the gradual and steady emergence of these buildings from their long burial, to see the gradual filling-up of the empty spaces of the plan, and the repeopling of these wastes by, at any rate, the skeletons of their ancient buildings. To Mr. Woolley and his assistants, Mrs. Woolley and Mr. Mallowan especially, who have worked so hard every winter; to the Director

94.—UR, AS EXCAVATED BY WOOLLEY FOR THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND PHILADELPHIA

of the British Museum, to whom the inception and, with his late colleague of the Philadelphia Museum, the carrying-out of the excavation is due; and to the Trustees of both Museums, who have made it possible—all archaeologists owe a great debt of thanks. The excavation of Ur has developed into one of the major excavations of the ancient world, it has yielded gold more than Mycenae, and many other antiquities of price and of great importance in the history of ancient civilization and art.

It was probable enough that important results would be obtained, though owing to the evident denudation of the mounds owing to their exposed position, the probability of buildings still surviving to any height seemed unlikely. Herein first expectations have in part proved somewhat pessimistic, as the condition of the walls of Ē-dublal-makh and

other buildings have shewn. The walls are often preserved to above the height of a man, and actual arched doorways still stand, as, indeed, Taylor had found. The prospects of tablets and smaller antiquities seemed much rosier. The tablets have been the least of the finds as yet: we have still found no temple-library like that at Nippur. But the tale of the smaller antiquities has been splendid; and now the discovery of the treasures of gold in the primeval royal tombs has put all other Mesopotamian excavations in the shade so far as objects of intrinsic value are concerned.

But when I sat in my tent in the lee of the ziggurrat on 14 February, 1919, all this revelation was in the womb of time. Only the red brick mass of the ziggurrat loomed up above me in the night, solitary, surrounded by its virgin mounds and dunes; what might be buried beneath them none knew.

CHAPTER IV

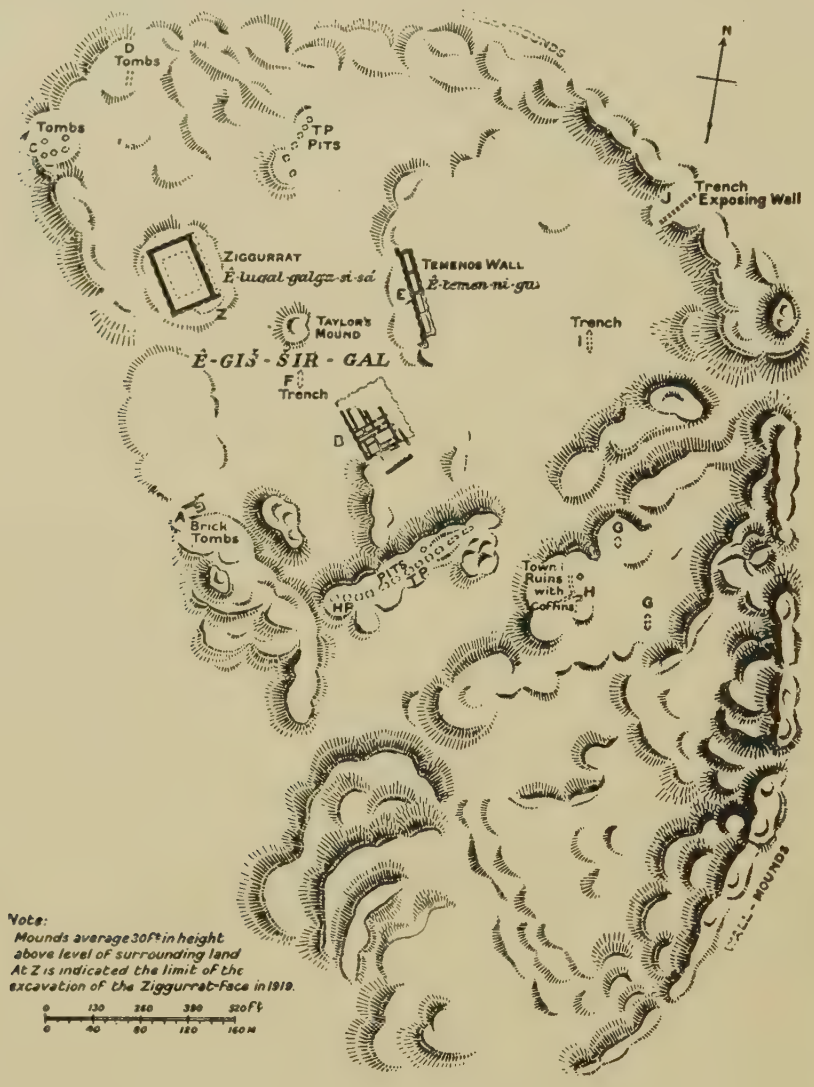
THE WORK AND THE WORKERS

I HAVE already said that my work at Ur was begun on 14 February with the starting of a small trench, which yielded next day the first-fruits of the work in the shape of some cuneiform tablets. This trench, started merely with the idea of giving the diggers something to do while the tents were being put up, had been lucky. On the 16th, Sunday, I knocked off work to explore the mounds, and 'Amrān and his merry men arrived. And now on the 19th a further find of tablets rewarded us in the same place. 'Amrān, with all the zeal of the 'Iraqi tablet-hunter in his soul, was delighted. We would go on in this good place. The sounding-pits, continuing those of Thompson, were soon given up as unprofitable.

But my business was not tablet-hunting. I wished primarily to continue Taylor's work of finding buildings, which could be planned by an official architect to join me from Baghdad, and if tablets or other antiquities were found in the course of the work, so much the better. On 20 February, the day after the discovery of the fine tablets at 'A' (see plan, Fig. 95), we struck walls at the same spot, apparently of houses. Two days later we found the first brick tomb beneath the house walls, and this we proceeded to excavate, followed by others.

This rather unexpected find on a chance piece of work disarranged the plan I had formed, after examining the mounds, of exploring the tract immediately east of Taylor's buildings and the ziggurrat, which looked as if it might contain a building of some importance. On the 17th I had started work here with a small party; and at a spot some 200 yards north-east of 'A' and the same distance south-east of the ziggurrat, had soon come on the walls of burnt brick, which in the coming weeks developed into the important building 'B'. At first the work was slow,

owing to the tomb-finds at 'A', which diverted me from the excavation of 'B'. And very soon I found, as other excavators do, that considerations of policy often forbid the employment of the whole force on one



95.—PLAN OF UR, SHEWING EXCAVATIONS OF 1919

piece of work. Disagreements, often hatreds, arise among one's chief native subordinates, that make it advisable for the sake of peace and good work that the force shall be divided into two or even three parties, each

with its own piece of work to do and each captained by head-men responsible only to the director of the excavation and his immediate subordinate. This soon happened at Ur, where at first not only were the Arab raïses not inclined to get on very well with the Turks, who resented their direction, but among the Turks themselves the two senior N.C.O.'s, Ḥasan Taḥsin and Daūd Ramazān, excellent and intelligent European 'Turks', were, I found, much better workers when together and not under the immediate command of their Sergeant-Major or *bash-shaūsh*, a warrant officer as we should call him, but not a man of great energy or intelligence. After a few weeks things straightened out, and we became a most happy family. But at first I had to divide in order to command. So that not only were two parties maintained at 'A' and 'B', officered respectively under the general supervision of 'Amrān by the two junior raïses, with the not very useful help of the *bash-shaūsh*, at 'B', but on March 1 a third was sent to excavate tombs north-west of the ziggurrat, where the road up from the railway passed round to my tents, under the two N.C.O.'s mentioned, both of whom had previous knowledge of excavation in Macedonia, and needed no rais to teach them. This tomb-work (at C and D) continued for a week or two, and then the two N.C.O.'s and their men were transferred elsewhere. I found it advisable to maintain the three parties as long as we worked only at Ur.

The excavation of the building 'B' continued till Easter Saturday, 19 April, immediately before our departure to Abu Shahrain, when it was finally shut down. Work at 'A' had been stopped on Ash Wednesday, 5 March.

The work on the tombs north-east of the ziggurrat (C and D) continued till 11 March. Meanwhile the first discovery of the temenos-wall ('E') had been made on 27 February, in the shape of a discoloration only visible in certain lights on the surface of the ground which betokened the tops of crude brick walls. Little was done on this till 5 March, when the party that had been working at 'A' was transferred to the temenos-wall at 'E'. Then the work of excavating a length of wall went on at speed. But for a week's suspension from 10 to 17 March the work at 'E' proceeded till 2 April, when, a whole section of the wall having been explored, it was abandoned.

On 12 March the Turkish N.C.O.'s party that had been working

on the northern tombs was transferred to the ziggurrat, the south-east face of which I wished to clear in order to obtain some idea of its construction and appearance. This entailed heavy work; of course, in the absence of a hand-tramway and trucks such as I had had at Dair al-baḥri in Egypt and Mr. Woolley had at Ur after me, it was impossible to dump the debris very far away, and a spoil-heap remained for my successor to remove. As I had hoped, and then expected, to be my own successor, I did not trouble much about the matter; next year I should have a light railway somehow! But it is the fate of most excavators to have the thankless task of removing other people's dumps: I have had to do it myself at Ḍair al-baḥri and at Abydos. It cannot well be avoided, as the stuff has to be dumped somewhere, and only a railway will carry it far away. When one has only the human machine, spades cannot be sacrificed to baskets: potential diggers cannot be used merely to shift earth further away, or the actual clearance slows down. The spoil-heap made by the first party was, however, too near the wall; naturally, with only fourteen men in all at work. It rose behind them as they cleared the face, so that in April one descended as towards an Egyptian tomb to reach the bottom of the dig. After 19 April, half the sergeant-major's men were put on to lower the height of the dump and cast the stuff further away, with the aid of Arab basket-boys in Egyptian fashion, now recruited for the first time to help the Turks. I had already taken on a body of local Arabs, from Shaikh Munshid's village near by, to dig by themselves with their basket-boys, at the end of March, but had kept them apart from the Turks, for fear of misunderstandings, and had not given the Turks any boys. Now, however, since they seemed peacefully inclined towards one another, I equipped each Turkish digger with his complement of three boys, one running out to the end of the tip, one running back to him, and one having his basket filled as he waited. The stuff was then shifted quickly. I added no boys to the 'B' crew, as the few men still there had now always worked together, one digging, the other tipping close by, and there was no need to alter the arrangement at the close of the work.

This work continued till 11 April, when, in order to utilize this particularly efficient and trustworthy party of diggers at the newly-discovered al-'Ubaid, it was suspended until the 19th. Then it was taken up again under the direction of Sergt.-Major Webb, to be continued during

my absence at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid until May 22, by which time a considerable part of the face of the tower had been cleared.

I found that I had sufficient money to employ further labour, so that on 26 March I began, as I have said above, to try the experiment of employing a party of local 'Arabs', some twenty in number, recruited from the tribe of Munshid, the local shaikh. I had no knowledge of the capacity of the Muntafiq in this direction, as Captain Thompson in the previous year had only employed a few of them for a week at Ur, using the local Badu' for his work at Shahrain, as I also had to do. However, through the A.P.O.,[1] Captain T. C. Orgill, I broached the subject to Munshid, who promptly instituted a sort of corvée in my honour. He issued his orders to his folk, and the men came, with their hoes, baskets, and with boys, and small girls too, to carry the baskets. They mostly did not want to come at all, but were packed off to me willy-nilly at their chief's orders, and began their labours under the orders of 'Amrān. I put them on to the exploration of the region immediately south of the transverse wadi, where nobody had yet dug. The spot at which they began I had designated as 'H'. They began work on 26 March, and their pay—a rupee a day per man, and half for a boy—for that day was sixteen rupees. Their number and pay rose till on 10 April they earned Rs. 41, and then fell till on the 17th I finally paid the remnant off with Rs. 6. During the last few days Munshid had to obey a more urgent call than mine. The floods were out, the *bunds* had burst, and Orgill at Naṣirīyyah wanted every man. The real corvée was proclaimed, and my Arabs had to betake themselves with mattock and basket to make good the dykes. This is an ancient duty which no doubt existed in Sumerian days as it does now. And when lives and livelihood depend on it, nobody is likely to stand upon the order of his going! Their work had not been unsatisfactory during the short experiment, though I did not consider it so good as that of the 'wild Badu' ' at Shahrain. They had much to learn. They were filthy, noisy, entirely undisciplined, and in 'Amrān's view more trouble than they were worth. But he did not approve of the marsh-Arabs, and, since then, Mr. Woolley has made them into most efficient and experienced diggers. I reinforced them with some Turks at 'H' on 31 March, and transferred some of them on 10 April to 'G', a spot close by, where they dug

[1] Assistant Political Officer.

tombs, and some to 'J', a section of the outer wall mound of the city (p. 172), leaving 'H' to the Turks till 14 April, when I stopped the work there, 'G', 'J' (and the Arabs) stopping on 17 April. The only accident during the whole work happened at 'J' on 10 April, when an Arab slipped and put his shoulder out. We were happily free from accident and also from illness, the only cases being occasional attacks of fever among the Turks, none serious.

Meanwhile, on Sunday, 6 April, Tell al-'Ubaid had been discovered and diagnosed from the remains on its surface as a very early site, and work begun there two days later by a small but most efficient party consisting of the best Turks under the two N.C.O.'s, had been carried on quickly. On the 11th the find of the copper bulls was made (p. 239) and their removal took place during the following days, until on Good Friday, the 18th, work was suspended at al-'Ubaid also on account of the move to Shahrain. This was necessary, as it had been arranged on 9 April with the chief shaikhs of the Dhafir tribe of Badu' (Bedawin) that camp should be shifted to Shahrain on Easter Monday, the 21st, for the fortnight during which I wished to dig there in order to carry on Thompson's work this year also. Afterwards I intended to concentrate on al-'Ubaid for a week or ten days before it became necessary owing to the heat and exhaustion of funds to bring the work to an end about the third week of May. It was now evident that al-'Ubaid was an important early Sumerian site and would alone repay all the cost of the expedition so far as antiquities were concerned. To Shahrain, however, I had to go, and the move, that took all day, was made on 21 April.

At Shahrain I remained till 8 May in spite of the torrid heat of that desert place, and then moved straight across the waste to al-'Ubaid where I camped till the 17th, when I returned to Ur to clear up and finish packing. On Saturday, 24 May, all work finally stopped, and taking with me Sergt.-Major Webb, the Turks, 'Amrān and his fellow-raïses, and the Indian chauffeurs, I left for Baṣrah on the 26th, after having entertained the G.O.C., General Sir George MacMunn, to tea (necessary, and as hot as possible in that heat: woe to the man who does not sweat in it!) on the Sunday amid all the debris of packing and departure.

Such was the bare time-table of the work, which gives an idea of what was done or attempted to be done in the time. My intention was to get as comprehensive an idea as I could, as a preliminary to general

excavation, of the extent of the ancient remains of buildings on the mounds and their distribution. Hence the several small excavations (except 'B') carried on by me in various portions of the mounds, of which the widely scattered character was intentional. I was purposely probing and testing here and there, but not for stratification as Thompson had done; rather for buildings, to ascertain their superficial extent. This work, as planned, I carried out during the six weeks I worked at Ur. At Shahrain I wished again not to test for stratification, as Thompson had done, but to find a group of buildings which could be completely excavated. This I did, digging out an interesting complex of streets and houses of the Sumerian town. At al-'Ubaid I saw that it was possible to dig out at least half of a very important but quite small site, leaving the other site till the season of 1920, when I confidently hoped to return.

During the work my Turks had worked to admiration, and I blessed the military authorities who had placed them at my disposal. Designedly I mention them first of my helpers, for without their loyal and efficient help I could not have done what I did. As I have said, Mr. Woolley has since turned the Muntafiq Arabs into efficient diggers, but in my time when I began the experiment with Munshid's villeins they had not much idea of digging, and they were never with me so efficient as the desert Badu' of the Dhafir, who had dug with Thompson at Shahrain in 1918, and now dug again with me: Thompson had taught them what to do and how to do it quite well. Also the Muntafiq were greedy and troublesome, whereas the Turks, though individuals among them might be stupid, were always willing and ready, disciplined soldiers who obeyed the word of command, and some of them intelligent. Such were the two N.C.O.'s, already mentioned, Daūd Ramazān and Ḥasan Taḥsin, the former a Muslim Serb from the Prisren district, the second a Macedonian from Monastir. That is to say they were both Europeans, and any deficiency of intelligence from which they suffered can only be ascribed to their circumstances. Daūd was a small farmer, Ḥasan a tradesman of some kind. Both spoke some Arabic. With Ḥasan I could communicate also in Greek, as I could too with the *bash-shaūsh* Ismail Beha'eddin Ibrahim, as he was a Constantinopolitan. Would that I could have talked Serb to Bosniak Daūd! As it was, a holiday visit to the Albanian coast and a thorough acquaintance with Miss Durham's books enabled me to talk to him in Arabic about

many places and folk he knew, much to his delight. It can well be imagined what an advantage it was to have a couple of men like this to bridge the gap between me and the non-European Turks, of whose language I had only a smattering, who had no Arabic and who were not all of them as bright, let us say, as Daūd and Ḥasan, or even the *bash-shaūsh*, who was himself not very bright. He was a soft-spoken person, young, large, and heavy; fair and European-looking, but slow and rather pious. Daūd was his opposite: of the usual Serb complexion, strongly built though not tall; alert, energetic, and quick of apprehension; in

96.—THE EXCAVATOR AND HIS STAFF

Top row, from left to right: Ḥasan Taḥsin, the *Bash-shaūsh*, 'Mr. Juggernaut', 'Abdu'l-Ghani, 'Amrān, Indian Chauffeur, Daūd Ramazān (the Serb). *Below:* The Carpenter and three other Arab Raïses.

reality, of course, he had no Turkish blood whatever, but was a pure Serb. He was not, I think, much troubled by religious preconceptions, nor was Ḥasan Taḥsin, the Macedonian, a tall, thin, ruddy-fair man with rather stooping shoulders. Of these three the *bash-shaūsh* was the youngest, Ḥasan the oldest: he was about thirty. The *bash-shaūsh* and many of the other Turks wore the regulation Turkish hod-like khaki military cap of that time; the two N.C.O.'s both affected British wool balaclavas, though Daūd often went hatless even in the greatest heat. Naturally my Turks suffered from certain deficiencies of uniform; their puttees were not always such as would have pleased a sergeant-major of

the Guards, and their trousers often shewed regrettable hiatus. But prisoners could not be choosers, especially in 'Iraq, and we did the best we could for them: many items of their clothing were, of course, cast-off British and Indian uniform. The British sergeant-major in charge of them, Stanley Webb, who was of the greatest assistance to me, was not inclined to worry them about their appearance on parade! And we ourselves were not so impeccably arrayed as to enable us to cast stones at them in the matter. Sergt.-Major Webb (Fig. 97) did manage to preserve a soldierly appearance in shirt and shorts, but I reserved even the semblance of uniform for my visits to Naṣirīyyah and the visits of the big guns to Ur.

97.—SERGT.-MAJOR WEBB

The whole turnout much resembled Falstaff's army (Fig. 98), always excepting Sergt.-Major Webb and the *bash-shaūsh*. My Turks were of all shapes and sizes, some round and short, some tall and thin, some long-headed and fair, some round-headed and dark, some with the dull faces of oxen, others more or less intelligent, though a long way after the two European sergeants and with an intelligence different to that of the Arab. They were much more sensible, for one thing: if they had any intelligence at all, it was, let us say, boyish, not infantile. They were not merely like 'clever' children. Physically the contrast with the Arab, whether of the Rīf or the 'Chōl' ('Iraqi for *khālī*), the cultivated land or the 'empty' desert, was striking. The Arab is more of one size, extremes of tallness and shortness are rare with him, and obesity, common among my Turks (increased perhaps by prisoners' life!), is rare with him. The Arabs always reminded me of birds, the Turks of some heavy rodent. The Turks were glad of the exercise that my work gave them, and, judging by their marvellous exposition of sweat, they needed it badly. The Arab did not sweat much, so that his vicinity, though naturally the Muntafiq is dirtier than the Turk, was not so unpleasant. I honourably except the N.C.O.'s, of course, and my Arab raïses, who were Ḳwaireshis, were of course most cleanly men. I was, however, glad that the Turkish O.R.'s [1] could not get any garlic in their rations.

[1] O.R.'s = 'other ranks', i.e. privates.

The addition of that beloved vegetable to their dietary would have made it finally impossible to come near them.

The majority of my Turks were Anatolians—heavy, hard-working peasants of Asia Minor. But other races were represented. The *bash-shaūsh* was a Stambuli, the two other senior N.C.O.'s a Serb and a Macedonian, as I have said. A hefty young giant of a Thracian from Gumuldjina, who would have made quite a good-looking ancient Greek could he have been washed and brushed up regularly for a month or two, was one of my best diggers: a hawk-like, hawk-eyed Laz from Pontus,

98.—SOME OF MY MEN

In centre of back row together, from left to right: Ḥasan Taḥsin, Daūd Ramazān, and 'Amrān

Suliman Demīr ('Solomon Iron') by name, had the keenest sight for small things of any man I have known, and was regularly employed as a surface-searcher. There were others, too, but I cannot distinguish them by their names, as all the seventy, wherever they came from, shewed the same monotonous Muslim nomenclature, Haidar 'Alī, Suliman Demīr, Aḥmet Hamza, Kiazim 'Amīr, Zakariya Islām, Muṣṭafā Bekīr, and so on. Only two remain in memory by name as well as face; my cheerful little batman Khalīl Rifa'at, and our genial chief carpenter, with his rolling, sailor-like gait, Ibrahim 'Alī, a cobbler of a carpenter, it is true, but ever willing and ever handy, and naïvely proud of his handiwork: both Anatolians. I was sorry

that there were no Muslim Cretan immigrants into Asia Minor among the company; military discipline notwithstanding, how they would have lorded it over the rest of their company after the Cretan manner, how they would have shewn them how to do it, and how well I should have got on with them! But none had come 'Iraq way, apparently, or at any rate not my way; and I expect that for temperamental and linguistic reasons (they know no Turkish), the Turkish military authorities had not been over-anxious to recruit many Cretan *muhajirīn* (immigrants) for the army.

Attached to the Turks was a Syrian (?) Christian effendi, generally known as 'Dr. Syntax', partly on account of his appearance, partly because of his calling, which had been that of a schoolmaster, I believe. He had apparently lived in India, and had been sent to act as an interpreter in case I needed one. I did, as my Turkish, though not so rudimentary as my Hindustani, left considerable scope for the services of an interpreter, and my Arabs knew not a word of Turkish; nor did the Turks, with the exceptions of Daūd and Ḥasan, know a word of Arabic beyond the usual pious ejaculations. Dr. Syntax spoke Arabic, Turkish, French, English, and Hindustani, and so was useful in our polyglot crowd. He was a tall gaunt old man who went about in a peaked cap and slacks, and wore eternally an ancient Burberry. He silently vanished away at the end of the proceedings, Burberry and all, presumably in the direction of Syria. He was useful, but did not inspire enthusiasm, and he had his own ideas on the subject of antiquities, which he tried to instil into Indians especially: me, I think, he regarded as archaeologically a dangerous heretic, presumably because I was a 'Brūtestant'.

In charge of the Turks at first was a North-country sergeant-major, who stayed but a short while, and whom I remember chiefly by his dog, a bull-terrier, how and whence acquired, in the middle of Mesopotamia, I know not (Fig. 99). He was succeeded by a Londoner, Sergeant-Major Webb, who for the rest of the dig was my right-hand man. Mr. Webb, who now resides in South London, still retains his keen interest in Ur and its antiquities, and regularly visits the British Museum to see the latest developments. His interest in the work was shewn from the beginning, and though his duties at the Prisoners' camp prevented him from being continuously present at the excavation

or in acting regularly as my assistant, he gave me all the help he could, and during my absence at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid in April and May he took charge of the work of clearing the south face of the Ur ziggurrat, in which, being in civil life a builder, he took special interest. He had had no previous acquaintance with excavation, but was obviously, after some weeks watching the dig, fitted to carry out such a piece of work as the clearance of the ziggurrat; which he did admirably so far as his means allowed. The absence of the light railway, as has been noted, prevented the clearance being carried out on the large scale or the removal of the dump far enough away, at the moment. And the sergeant-major had with him one of the three Babylon raïses as archaeological adviser, and in case anything important turned up, I could always return in an hour.

99.—SERGEANT-MAJOR, DOG, AND FORDS

The head raïs, already mentioned, 'Amrān ibn Ḥamūd, was my native right-hand man. A Ḳwaireshi, trained by Koldewey and Buddensieg at Babylon, he knew his business as raïs, had a considerable archaeological sense, managed his Arabs well, and got on well with the Turks. He was always better friends with the Constantinopolitan *bash-shaūsh* than with the two European N.C.O.'s, but later on he and Daūd got on well together and called one another *rafīq* (comrade); I had nothing to complain of later as regards the internal relationships of Turks and Arabs. At first, however, it was difficult. The Turks, belonging to the ex-dominant race, resented being bossed by their ex-subjects, even in a special matter like digging, especially since several of them had dug before. This fact 'Amrān and his fellow-raïses did not quite realize at first. I had to be tactful. The two N.C.O.'s indeed so obviously resented the civilian 'Amrān's direction that on their work, after one or two passages of arms, he came merely as spectator and adviser, in which capacity he was acceptable. The fact that he was himself a person of con-

siderable powers of *siyāsi* (political tact or intrigue) and that the two N.C.O.'s were intelligent men made this possible. Finally, in the small party at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid, everybody worked amicably together and there was no question of any precedence or authority except mine, and 'Amrān's as my deputy; Sergt.-Major Webb being in authority at Ur with the third Arab raïs and the *bash-shaūsh* as his deputies. But before this came about I had found it advisable to give 'Amrān more scope for his authority, and so took on the body of Arab workmen I have already mentioned, who were placed definitely under him without any question of military privilege or precedence to complicate matters. The other three raïses, Muḥammad 'Amrān, Shakr 'Amrān, and 'Abūd Kunbār, were capable men, especially Shakr, an elderly man, a conscientious and deft workman, invaluable as a clearer of graves, and wherever delicate work with his knife was demanded (Fig. 100).

100.—SHAKR 'AMRĀN EXCAVATING AN ANCIENT DRAIN AND SINK IN BUILDING 'B'

(*See p.* 164)

I paid the Arabs direct, while the Turks were paid for their work through the military authorities. The Muntafiq workmen were paid weekly in the Egyptian fashion, and their shaikh Munshid was expected to keep them up to the mark, which he did most efficiently. If there was a falling-off of volunteers, I much suspect he called his tribal authority into play. He had himself, of course, to supply men to the Government for the repair of *bunds* or dykes on the Euphrates, which more than once suddenly spirited away men from me unexpectedly to stop a threatened flood. Orgill, who was Munshid's superior officer in this matter, was always so apologetic when this course had to be put in operation. But I was a luxury, and it was very nice of him to apologize at all.

What the Turks did with their money I don't know. I hope that

some of them managed to save some of it in their old stockings, but what they could have spent it on in the camp at the Junction I cannot guess, except tobacco and condensed milk. They received the usual rate for work of the kind, like Munshid's men. My head raïs received Rs. 100 *per mensem* with a bakhshish of Rs. 25 on good behaviour, the other three raïses Rs. 60 each and a bakhshish of Rs. 10. Dr. Syntax was paid by the Army as prisoners' interpreter; he did not appear in my budget, and asked for nothing from me. For the work of his tribesmen at Shahrain (Fig. 101) Shaikh Lezzām of the Dhafir received Rs. 600 in silver, which had to be paid out to him in coin, as he would not look at notes. How much the tribesmen themselves got of it I do not know: one does not ask free and independent chieftains such questions as these. The motor-men had their regular military pay with, of course, a present from me. Otherwise my expenses were chiefly for such things as baskets, nails, pick-hafts, running repairs to cars, petrol, and occasional cables home. Old wooden boxes the railways gave me for the taking of them away. Telegrams within 'Iraq were on military service and, of course, free to me, and letters home were 'on active service'. I drew my money through the Political Office at Naṣirīyyah, and Orgill was my banker. For it I had to account doubly, to Baghdad and to London, and I found that the office *babus* at Baghdad sometimes did not quite understand that my connexion with the Politicals was merely *pro formâ*. I was not seconded for service with the Politicals as members of the I.C.S. from India were: I was merely attached to them for convenience' sake by arrangement between the Acting Civil Commissioner and the military authorities. I considered that I had no right to mount the white tabs (the 'political' badge), and purposely did not do so, lest I should be controlled by anybody but Colonel Wilson personally, his legitimate heirs and assigns. The Political Office was the British Museum's bank for the occasion.

101.—BADU' (DHAFIR) DIGGERS AT SHAHRAIN

To Sir Arnold Wilson, then Acting Civil Commissioner, I have first and foremost to express my grateful thanks for his untiring sympathy and support: without his help what was done could not have been done, and the antiquities from al-'Ubaid would not now, probably, be in the British Museum: without his authority I could not have dug there or brought my finds home. To Major-General Sir George MacMunn, commanding Lines of Communications, and in April Commander-in-Chief, I owe unfailing military help in the matter of the Turkish prisoners, and wherever he could help me. And in the late Major-General H. C. Sutton, C.B., commanding Lines of Communications in succession to Sir George, I found a ready helper out of any difficulty. He it was who recognized my necessity for motor-transport (Fig. 99), and granted it to me, as will appear. I wish to thank specially Captain Orgill for his unfailing help, and his superior officer Major Dickson for his active assistance also, especially in the matter of the negotiation with Shaikh Lezzām. And to the military authorities at Naṣirīyyah, Colonel P. H. Dundas, 6th Jats, and his staff; to Major C. de J. Luxmoore, 99th Deccan Infantry, commanding the troops on the railway; Captain G. G. Mitchell of the Labour Corps; and to the railway authorities, Major Glanville, 34th Sikh Pioneers, and Captain Mould, of Calcutta, at Ur Junction, I also tender my best thanks. The railway officers, for their constant help and friendly hospitality at the Junction Mess, deserve my express acknowledgments. Those who helped me whose names I do not mention will forgive me the omission: they were so many. But I do not thank them less. In as real a sense as the actual members of the expedition, all were workers on the excavation at Ur.

CHAPTER V

IN CAMP AT UR

THE Turks lived in their camp at Ur Junction and marched up silently every morning to work at dawn with their Indian guard, when also the Arabs straggled up from their village with much talking and screaming, with their hoes and baskets, accompanied by their draggle-tailed boys and girls as basket-bearers. The three raïses lived together in a Turkish tent, returned, like the rest of my borrowings, to A.P.O. Ḥillah at the end of my work. In the kitchen-tent resided my cook, Sousa, and my two Indian chauffeurs, who came later. At night I was alone in camp with the three Indians. There was a slight element of danger in this, or the military authorities thought so, since we were open to an attack by desert-raiders such as that which actually did happen to Mr. Woolley's first expedition in 1922–3. So we were protected, at first by a section of Indian privates under a naik from the prisoners-of-war guard, then after a day or two when we had settled down, by at night a section of three *Shabanas* or Arab constabulary from the fort at Naṣirīyyah, since the Indians were, properly speaking, only there to look after the prisoners, not after me. By day two of these Shabanas went off to Naṣirīyyah, while one stayed behind to guard their kit from the cook, whom they considered to be a bird of prey. He slept most of the time. The youngest of them, aged about eighteen, a great buck in his own estimation, wore his hair in four long plaits or 'horns', one hanging from each corner of his head over his shoulders: this is common fashion among Arab dandies, as Doughty noted.[1] We called him Abu Qurūn, 'father of horns'. These worthy constables were an unkempt, dirty trio of Muntafiq, ruffians to outward appearance, but not very formidable really (Fig. 102). They had no idea of discipline,

[1] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, p. i. 469, *et passim*.

and were always giving me trouble about their food, which they accused the cook of stealing, by occasionally not turning up at all, and so forth. But matters are no doubt different with the Shabanas or their successors now: that was in 1919. Once or twice they tried to impress me with a sense of their value by loosing off near my tent at night at supposed '*haramīya*' or thieves, who may or may not have existed only in their imagination: I suspected them, however, to be like the sycophants in *Liddell and Scott*, pure figments. These our protectors were supposed to watch wakefully from the top of the ziggurrat all night. By day, we had the Indian prisoners' guard, both at Ur and at al-'Ubaid, but not at Shahrain, which was out of bounds, so to speak. So was al-'Ubaid really, but for the purposes of the dig it was regarded as a legitimate annexe of Ur, since, as I successfully represented, it had undoubtedly been anciently a suburb of the city. Shahrain, however, the ancient Eridu, was incontestably quite a distinct city anciently from Ur. It was uncompromisingly out 'in the blue', more than twelve miles from Ur, and beyond the military rayon. At Shahrain we were handed over to the covenanted protection of the shaikh of the nomad Dhafir Badu', and I could not take there more than four of my best Turks as a sort of treat or outing from their camp in consideration and as a reward of their good work. At al-'Ubaid I could have twelve or more if I wanted them: that was different. But on one occasion the military did visit Shahrain, as shall be told in its place, on an alarm of Dhafir treachery. And this irregularity, committed though it was in order to protect us from possible attack, caused considerable perturbation in military circles at Naṣirīyyah, and was not to occur again. It was for me to scuttle back to Ur, abandoning my work on such an alarm, not to take His Majesty's soldiers fourteen miles out into the desert into a possible shindy with the Dhafir on my own responsi-

102.—SHABANAS AT UR

bility, clad though I was in uniform and with minor military authority. It was not to occur again. So now I knew.

The prisoners' guard were usually of an Indian battalion, under Major (now Lt.-Col.) C. de J. Luxmoore, who shewed the greatest interest in my work. They found Ur distinctly chilly, especially in the early morning, when the sentries, completely muffled up as to head and face in their pagris, looked like the most miserable thin-shanked mummies it was possible to conceive, poor things. I remember that on one occasion Luxmoore, coming up from Naṣirīyyah and going the rounds, found one man so entirely enveloped in his pagri that he was unable to see or hear, and so not much use as a sentry; so seizing the end of it, the Major whirled it round and round to discover him, and the sentry span like a teetotum, till finally the yards of pagri fell from him and he was left bare and shivering, but at any rate able to hear when talked to, as he was. Nights could be cold at Ur till April, and at night in my tent I was glad of the oil-stove that Headquarters at Naṣirīyyah kindly sent up for my comfort.

Once or twice native officers came up by themselves, and then, if I could not get hold of Dr. Syntax to interpret, I was regretfully unable to explain things to them, as I found them totally devoid of English, in contrast to the Bengali babus and the South Indians (Madrassis) of whom many, even of the lower grades, talked excellent English. Two Rajput officers I specially remember, a tall distinguished old soldier of a splendid type, a cultivated and courteous gentleman from top to toe, accompanied by a younger man who bade fair to be like his elder. I wished I could have talked to these two, but alas, my ignorance of Urdu and theirs of English placed an impassable barrier between us; and after attempts, even with sign-language, it became hopeless to try to continue the 'conversation' and with many polite words of *afsos* on both sides we regretfully went our several ways. It was the curse of Babel on us. When Dr. Syntax was present I could never be quite sure that he was giving a sensible rendering of my lecture, but when native officers came up with the Major I was able, through the latter as intermediary, to explain the work to them and found them keenly interested, their interest being largely due to the fact that they were convinced, as I found that nearly every Indian was to whom I talked on the subject, that these things that I was discovering were the works

of their ancestors, and that somehow the ancient inhabitants of 'Iraq had been Indians.

With Sousa my cook the medium of conversation could luckily be English, albeit of a somewhat culinary order. Though, as he assured me, a Portuguese *fidalgo* of ancient lineage, his native tongue was Kanarese: like his fellow 'Goanese', he came from the Bombay side, and he called 'sahib' 'săb'. To my inquiry as to how much Portuguese he really knew, came the answer with a confidential giggle:

'Me know two word Portuguese, sab.'

'And what be they?'

'Ave Maria, sab!'

He genuinely thought that the services of his church were conducted in Portuguese, which, of course, in an inverted sense they were.

He had the unco' skill of his kind, and could, as they all can, prepare a dinner of three courses over a fireplace made of three bricks on the open desert in a sandstorm, though, of course, in that case one could not complain of the fare being gritty. Anyhow he could and did make remarkable dishes out of bully beef; his ragouts of ration meat were wonderful, and he would make me an excellent plum cake or delicious chocolate-toffee and caramels at a moment's notice. Given the materials he could have cooked or made anything. The rations he had to deal with were excellent. We sent a Turkish fatigue-party down to fetch them from the Junction, where they arrived by train from Baṣrah. All were on the military ration-strength, of course, except Munshid's Arabs. I got my raïses rationed like the rest. The army was repaid the cost of my rations. Biscuits, cheese, and luxuries like chocolate were rationed, and I received, as an officer, a fortnightly bottle of whisky that was wasted on me but came in useful for visitors. I am no devotee of the 'sundowner'. But Capt. John Bull, just as he preferred American cigarettes to all that the Orient could offer in the shape of cheroots, wanted his whisky. The Ur water, being chlorinated, was undrinkable unless disguised as tea. I got beer in the shape of an excellent Japanese brand bearing the banner and name of Asahi, the Rising Sun, and even some Chianti, which rejoiced my soul. And as the heat increased, ice actually appeared as a ration: ice in canvas bags. This was a godsend; I can only bear tribute to the wonderful work of the people who ran the ration supplies in 'Iraq in 1919. So my cook

could give me ice-pudding, and did! He needed no assistant, though my Turkish batman Khalīl gave him a hand, not always graciously accepted. They had some difficulty in comprehending one another, with the result that the venerable Dr. Syntax spent a great deal of his time in the kitchen, with benefit to his inner man, no doubt. Khalīl could not come up till the rest of the Turks came, and he had to go back with them to camp every night, being a prisoner: so that Sousa it was who brought me my tea at break of day, and took the opportunity to voice his little complaints of everybody, especially Khalīl and the Indian chauffeurs. Khalīl waited during the day, looked after my clothes, brought messages down to me on the work, and mounted guard over my tent in my absence till the Shabanas appeared at dusk, and then marched off with the other Turks to camp. With him I had perforce to talk Turkish—of a kind.

The two chauffeurs came a little later. I soon found the impossibility of doing without a car. I had, or somebody had, especially at first, to be constantly going into Naṣirīyyah for some purpose or other connected with the dig, either about tools or about rations, or about the Turks, or about the Shabanas: hardly a day passed during the first two weeks without some necessary reference to Naṣirīyyah, until everybody had got used to us, and, more especially, the subordinate military mind had been shunted on to an unexpected archaeological siding. 'Amrān walked into Naṣirīyyah, taking all day to do it; he took camel, I took camel: it was ridiculous, every officer in Naṣirīyyah was careering about on a motor-cycle or in a Ford: why not I? Being a captain, I was expected to ride a motor-cycle: captains rode motor-cycles. But I knew nothing of the art of riding motor-cycles. I wanted a Ford and a chauffeur, please. This request, backed by the Acting Civil Commissioner, had to be referred to H.Q., L. of C., Baṣrah, where the late General Sutton was in command. He at once sent me the Ford and the chauffeur, and if I wanted anything else I was to say so. This I always did, and found him my greatest stand-by and always a very present help in time of trouble. For military people who didn't understand what I was doing were inclined to say I couldn't have or do this or that, till I referred matters to my General. Then the critics turned right-about-face and departed swiftly in different directions. This happened over my second Ford and chauffeur. How

they got into my hands I don't quite know: I didn't at the time. I think they were meant for some one else up the line. But the chauffeur was of the opinion that he was intended for me, and though I knew nothing about him and never expected such a stroke of luck, I quite agreed with him, and so 'Abdu'l-Ghani and his car stayed with me. They stayed all the time till the end. Some weeks after his arrival I received a rather fierce little chit from a motor park at Ma'qil (Baṣrah) urgently demanding by what authority I was detaining Sepoy 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Ford vanette No. D.3328 at 'Ur Ruins', and directing me to return the said sepoy and car at once to Ma'qil. I had not the slightest intention of doing anything of the kind. I had 'scrounged' (as the phrase was) an unusually well-preserved Ford and a driver both excellent and intelligent (evidently intended originally for somebody of real importance), who suited me down to the ground, and had not the slightest desire to leave a soft job at Ur with me. So I wrote to General Sutton, explaining that I had thought that this sending had been a kind thought on his part, and pointing out that having made sundry arrangements on the strength of possessing two Fords, I could not possibly upset them without detriment to my labours, also that having now trained Sepoy 'Abdu'l-Ghani to this particular kind of work, it seemed a pity to turn him off on to something else just as he was getting efficient. And, further, having now completed arrangements with the Political Authorities for my authorized work at Shahrain, it was necessary for me to organize a regular train of six cars with which to take water out there, where there was none, so I should be most grateful if Ma'qil could be instructed to forward me the necessary four more Fords, complete with chauffeurs. They came in less than a week, and 'Abdu'l-Ghani remained. It is well to be on good terms with generals.

Among the other chauffeurs only one is worthy of remembrance, Mister Juggernaut. This was not a nickname. His name really was Jagan Nath, and although nominally a soldier he liked to be called 'Mr.', and he smoked a short British pipe, which was never out of his mouth. He was a Hindu, of course, from Peshawar, of very fair complexion; 'Abdu'l-Ghani was a Muslim from Bhimber, near Jammu, in Kashmir. Both were intelligent, especially 'Abdu'l-Ghani, who became great friends with 'Amrān and was very useful, acting when we went to Shahrain as sergeant of the chauffeurs. I recommended him for promotion to havildar

when I left 'Iraq, and I hope he got it if he remained in the army. He spoke a little English, as also did Jagan Nath, and as 'Amrān had a little Urdu they could communicate if necessary without the aid of Dr. Syntax.

But with Sousa both 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Jagan Nath were at open feud. They enjoyed teasing the monkey-like little man. He retaliated by abusing them in a weird kind of English, which seemed to increase his self-respect. I have a vision of seeing through my tent-door one day in the after-lunch heat Sousa passionately screaming himself hoarse, exactly like an enraged monkey, and shaking his fist at the two wicked chauffeurs who were departing in gales of laughter: 'No, I have not got no dried fruits no nothink!' besides other remarks unprintable. A defeated raid on his stores, no doubt: so at least it was promptly represented to me. I daresay he had to suffer a good deal from them.

The general atmosphere was one of genial good-humour. Turks, Arabs, Indians, and I, we were all of us soon happy together, except the humourless ones, Sousa and possibly Dr. Syntax and the Shabanas. Sousa and the Shabanas were mortal enemies. Mutual accusations of theft of rations, *et cetera*, were endemic, and I gradually ceased to notice them. Sousa had one peculiar grievance among others. For some unknown reason he wanted to go to Sulman Pak. Now Sulman Pak is none other than Ctesiphon, south of Baghdad. The original Sulman Pak, who is said to have been the Prophet's barber, was buried at Ctesiphon, so I suppose he was killed at the taking of Madain (p. 17). And his tomb, there to this day, gives the place its name. When Sousa had engaged himself with me at Baghdad he understood that I was going to Sulman Pak, so he said. Sulman Pak was a nice civilized place, close to Baghdad. And apparently all the time he was being towed around with my baggage, first to Babylon, then to Naṣirīyyah, then here, he thought he was going to Sulman Pak. Nay, long after he had been in camp at Ur, he thought he was at Sulman Pak. The fact came out through my having asked him what on earth he meant by heading his food-accounts in his childish European fist 'Sulman Pak'. When informed that he was about a hundred and fifty miles from Sulman Pak in a southerly direction, he burst into tears, and lived henceforth in a state of terror, especially when I took him out to Shahrain. But other people were uneasy at Shahrain;

'Amrān very obviously doing the polite to old Lezzām, the shaikh of the Dhafir, reminded me irresistibly of a Byzantine ambassador trying to placate a king of the Goths.

Sousa never went to Sulman Pak, the land of his dreams. He returned with me to Bombay, and after bidding me farewell at the dock, I found I had left my civilian dress-jacket behind. Quite a nice memento of me. I hope he found it useful in his waiter capacity, but I should have thought that it was a trifle on the large size round the waist.

Dr. Syntax I myself never found a very congenial companion, though I understood that my subordinates of all nations regarded him as an inimitable raconteur and a most talented man. I was glad to hear it, and hoped that God might make it good upon him.

But good friends as they all were with these exceptions, my subordinates messed and lived apart according to their nations and religions. When out in the blue at Shahrain and when at al-'Ubaid, Turks occupied one tent, Arabs another, and Indians another. Jagan Nath did not seem to mind sharing board and lodging with 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Sousa, so I suppose that caste-restrictions had given way to the exigencies of foreign service. And as pork never came our way there was no danger of Sousa defiling 'Abdu'l-Ghani with it (not that that cheerful person would have minded much, I fancy, if he had: he was, after all, on campaign). The other Muslims, however, would not have him: Khalīl officiated then as cook for the Turks and the Arab raïses as well as valeting me. We had to concentrate a bit, out in the blue. At Ur the raïses had another Turk to cook for them and a boy of Munshid's to help clean up. I had also an Indian sweeper, of course, who came up from Ur Junction every morning before the Turks; he was necessarily dispensed with further afield. Once, and once only, I touched his hand when I gave him an anna for something. He shrank from me: 'Abdu'l-Ghani, though a Muslim, who was by, looked at me with astonishment. I should have dropped it into his hand. He was an Untouchable. So India brought her peculiar 'domestic institution' into 'Iraq with the invading army, with other Indianisms associated with it that I did not find admirable, preferring the more European sanitary methods of Egypt. But we were very Indian then in 'Iraq.

Such was my regular staff. From time to time I had extra help, as for instance when I wanted to make possible roads for visitors in cars up to

and round the mounds. Having once indented for labour to this end I was informed by chit from P.W.D. that a number of Indian labourers would be sent up under their ganger, Macpherson, next day. So next day I went out to inspect my indented labour, which appeared in the shape of a trailing crowd of anæmic-looking coolies dressed in nothing and dirty red turbans. But where was Macpherson? I asked the apparent leader, a gentleman in rather more clothes and with a bigger red turban than the rest, where he was: 'Where's master, Mr. Macpherson?' 'Me Mister Macpherson, sab!'

'You Mr. Macpherson: what do you mean?'

'Yes, sab: my name Macpherson, Mister Macpherson!'

'Your name Macpherson? What's your other name?'

'My Christian name Mister, sab: Mister Macpherson: not got no other name!'

And so it was. He was as black as any of his crew. There was no sign in him but his surname of the original ancestral Macpherson, some private soldier of John Company doubtless, perhaps a century ago.

For help of this and other kinds I was also greatly indebted to the Railway Administration at Ur Junction and Naṣirīyyah. Major Glanville and Captain Mould, of the Indian railways, who then ran the railway thereabouts, gave me all manner of help, especially in regard to tools, repairs, and old boxes for packing. The railway, of 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, and run with a mixed Indian bag of M.S.M. (Madras and Southern Mahratta) and B.B. and C. I. (Bombay, Baroda, and Central India) rolling-stock, with a few new Yankee locomotives, was now being pushed out to Samāwa, with 'Stations' every few miles. One of these I was invited to christen, and gave it the name *Bi'l-Azraq*, 'Out in the Blue'! But, alas, it has not survived as a station.

Society at Naṣirīyyah comprised few ladies. The wives who caused such complications by their presence in the midst of the revolt next year were then only beginning to come out. There were one or two at Naṣirīyyah: Orgill for instance had his wife and small boy with him. And there were the nurses. I am no tennis-player. I went to look on once at the usual tea-party. There was a colonel, there were majors and others, there was at least one padre, there were nurses. They played tennis and drank

tea. I invited them to come to Ur. They would have come without invitation. I was providing something to talk about. I received on Sundays. By car and motor-bikes they rolled out from Naṣirīyyah, and I expounded. Several parties came at once. Dr. Syntax had to be routed out of the kitchen-tent and put on to lecture. When I got tired of repeating the same thing every Sunday I basely left early in the morning, immediately after breakfast, for the blue, accompanied by my pipe and a book. Basely I contemplated the red tower of Ur and my white tents, from a few hundred yards off, from behind a sand-heap. In khaki I was invisible on the desert surface. First one car drove up and then another; decanting nurses and their military escort. I smoked and read—nurses and escort poke about, lift tent-flaps, look in. 'He's not here. Where's the Professor?' Cook cross-examined: waves his arms about vaguely. 'I not seen Master no nothink', probably. 'No nothink.' 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Jagan Nath have departed together in one of the Fords to spend the day in the bazaar at Naṣirīyyah, probably taking 'Amrān with them. Nothing doing. Party departs, after a vague look round, unless Dr. Syntax is about, in which case they receive remarkable information. But Dr. Syntax does not know where the Professor is. Later on other Sunday parties arrive and depart *re infectâ*. What do I know? I go for a stroll in the desert and I find things there sometimes. I am desolated afterwards to hear that I was out when they came. But really I got tired of repeating the same old 'unctuous grind' over and over again to more or less the same people. I preferred my pipe and my book, or a useful tour of exploration.

But I did not always get away with it. And, characteristically, it was an American woman who got me that time. One Sunday morning in April I lay on my bed reading and lazily watching through my tent-door the flight of a couple of wild-geese that circled honk-honking about the ziggurrat. They came that morning as it was peaceful. There were no yelling villagers coming up to work, no tramping Turks, no Indian yawps of command, no noise of recalcitrant Fords being got ready for a journey. All was blessed peace. The sun was getting up and swiftly warming the pure morning air of the desert: the flash of his sword was across the guy-ropes and would soon be on the tent-side. The pair of geese, necks outstretched, quested around the red tower: honk-honk, and again honk, honk, honk. It was the only sound. Eventually they flew off. The

sun-flash struck up the side of the tent. The flies began to gather for the feast: they buzzed as they rose. I too rose then, for one cannot doze on in 'Iraq as one would in England. Flies and sun prevent that. And I had to rise soon if I intended to flee away into the desert that day to avoid the curious. This time I was too late. It was unusually early for a visitor, but, my shave just finished, and without warning sound of car getting into second to run up the little bank to the tents, a voice without, American, and feminine. Now how, I thought, has this wandering female cousin descended on me thus? How she had come, whether she walked, or whether she flew, from Naṣirīyyah or from the Junction, Allah only knew, and He had not, I thought, been merciful. Only an American woman would have done it. I groaned, but had to put a good face on it and turn up smiling. However, although lone American women are startlingly naïve, and seem to have no idea of other people's privacy, they are usually 'kerngut', as the Germans say, and there is no need to awaken their political and semi-religious prejudices. And so was this one 'kerngut': she represented some welfare work or other in connexion with the war, the horrors of which she had been doing her level best (and one can be sure it was her utmost best, so potent is American idealism in their women) to alleviate, in her case in 'Iraq. I could at least shew her Abraham's home burg, so much as it was then, and I did. And she went away glad, satisfied, and cordial, and I got my day in the desert after all, and heard from afar the thin and jerky strains of a gramophone (of 1919) that a disappointed party of British visitors brought with them and set up to discourse its 'music' to them upon the ancient mounds of Ur in default of a lecture from the ungrateful professor.

Interested and appreciative visitors were Princess Alexandra Lieven—now Lady (Kynaston) Studd, and last year Lady Mayoress of London—and a Russian lady-doctor friend of hers, Dr. Shmotin. Both these ladies had been attached as nurses to the Russian troops in Persia, and when in 1917 General Baratov's army disintegrated in the direction of Bolshevy, they escaped to Baghdad, and were now helping at Baṣrah. To them I hope I proved a not inefficient cicerone, and Lady Studd has maintained her interest in the work of which she saw the beginnings.

There was a Commission, headed by Sir John Hewett, G.C.S.I., formerly Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, in 'Iraq then on financial

business. Sir John came with members of his staff, and I had great pleasure in shewing them what I had found. That day we had unearthed some interesting cuneiform tablets in building 'B': we actually were finding more when Sir John and his party came up (Fig. 103). Of course I was slily accused of salting the dig for the distinguished visitors' benefit. The staff were of the opinion that I had done it rather well. No protests of mine could, apparently, shake these genial leg-pullers in their conviction.

My providential general, Sutton, never was able to come and see the work, but I had other generals—General Cobbe on 5 April in a sandstorm, General Wauchope on 9 April, and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George MacMunn, on 25 May, in a heat in which iced beer was useless and our copious libations of hot tea hardly made bearable, as I have said.

103.—DISTINGUISHED VISITORS SEEING UR: 1919

Most of all I regretted that I was not able to shew Ur to Sir Arnold Wilson. But he had no time to come and see antiquities just then, as may well be imagined, with the Peace Congress at Paris going on and the fate of 'Iraq in the balance. Miss Bell was as busy, naturally, as he.

It may be realized that one man in charge of a dig has a great deal to do. I had to run the whole show, to conduct all official correspondence with regard to it with the exception of that relating purely to the Turks and their affairs (which were between the sergeant-major and H.Q. Naṣirīyyah), to indent for stores, to receipt them, to quarrel with Ma'qil about cars and chauffeurs, their repairs and their misdeeds, to coax this, that, and the other out of those in authority, to direct the work of my several parties of diggers, to spend as much of the day on the work as I could, to try and plan a building, to take notes and records of all finds, to keep my diary up to date, to keep the magazine in order and the various finds separate and labelled, to arrange about what was to be taken in hand next day, to plan out the future

as long as the money might last, to shew visitors round, to dash to Naṣiriyyah and back sometimes myself if my emissaries were not understood, to do a little packing day by day, to write reports on the progress of the dig, on the archaeological organization of 'Iraq and a projected Antiquities' Law, etc., and letters to Baghdad and London in the evening—and even cheerful snappy little descriptions of the antiquities of 'Iraq for ambitious local official publications that never appeared. At my living-tent, by the side of the great *zīr* or water-pot on its stand of old Egyptian shape (Fig. 104), I received the finds of the day every evening at the *maghrib* (sunset) brought up by the finders in the fashion of Egyptian excavations. And then, with 'Amrān's help, I ticketed them and put them away in the Museum Tent close by (a big two-poled Indian one, like my living-tent), in their appropriate places, tomb-groups here, tablets here, inscribed bricks there, and there again such fragments of statuary as we found. Then came the noting of the records, the writing of the journal, after the regular journey down to the dig to look round quietly and clearly after the men had gone and one could cogitate in peace, excogitating future movements and developments. Then came dinner, the cheroot, and then work again. Work was not always comfortable in the light of a smoky lamp, which was often put out by the multitude of flies and beetles that nightly immolated themselves in it.

104.—MY TENT AT UR

In April was dragon-fly time. How romantic: how Japanese! *Akitsu-no-yama-dera* might I call my mountain-temple, since the Sumerians called a ziggurrat a mountain? The name would go so well with Asahi beer (though anything less like Japan than Ur is hard to imagine!). But if one tries to eat one's dinner by lamp-light, with huge dragon-flies, like a flight of young aeroplanes, dashing about the tent, and nearly overturning the lamp, while horrible little bright green beetles go off pop all round you and land in your soup, and savage blue flies make frantic

efforts to gouge their way into your eyes and up your nostrils, or if one tries to write to the same accompaniment, one does not think so romantically of dragon-fly time in 'Iraq.

The flies, the beetles, and the dragon-flies were only with us for a month. Then the great heat of May thinned them out till in July, after I had gone, they are all dead with the exception of a few that remain in cool places to start the same game again next year. It was at the beginning of April that I first saw the flight of young dragon-flies settle on my tent-ropes, all of which they absolutely covered from eave to peg. Why they particularly liked this resting-place I know not. And when they invaded the tent there was nothing for it but a battue, or farewell to any work or reading at night. It took several nights to get rid of them, and that was the end of 'Dragonfly Mountain Temple'. It was the unavoidable light, of course, that attracted these beasts into the tent at night. Could one do without light one need not have been persecuted. But the darkness was pitchy except when the moon shone, and this was by no means always the case: 'Iraq, unlike Egypt, can be very cloudy, and so has even blacker nights.

The delightful time as always was the cool, fresh morning, just after dawn, when the wild-geese cried overhead, and before sunset, the short free time after the men had gone back to their quarters. In April took place the usual immigration of the flocks of the desert-border tribes from south to north along the limit of the sown. They moved mostly either early or late in the day. I sat sometimes on the edge of the mounds in my chair on Sunday after tea and watched their armies moving, battalion after battalion, regiment after regiment, each with its human commanders in front, slowly moving ever north-westward past my camp. It was the growing heat that drove them northward, raising great clouds of dust after them as they went. There is a similar sheep-migration custom in Spain, known by the name of *la Mesta*,[1] which is referred to by Cervantes in the famous episode of Don Quixote's charge, lance in rest, on the marching flocks which he took to be armies of Alifanfaron of Taprobana and his enemy Pentapolin of the Naked Arm, marching with their forests of lances and their heraldic cognizances, that his fantastic brain saw in the clouds of dust. 'Do you not hear, Sancho', said the knight, 'the neighing of the steeds, the sound of the trumpets, and the rattling of the drums?' 'I hear nothing', answered

[1] Pritchett, *Marching Spain*, p. 88.

Sancho, 'but the bleating of sheep and lambs.' But the knight clapped spurs to Rosinante, and setting his lance in rest, charged down the hillock like lightning. 'Hold, Señor Don Quixote,' cried Sancho; 'I vow to God they are but sheep and lambs you are going to encounter: come back, woe to the father that begat me! what madness is this? Look, there is neither giant, nor knight, nor cats, nor arms, nor shields, quartered or entire, nor true azures nor bedevilled; sinner that I am, what is it you do? . . .' 'Vuelvase vuestra merced, señor Don Quixote; que voto a Dios que son carneros y ovejas las que va a embestir. Vuélvase; desdichado del padre que me engendró! ¿Qué locura es ésta? Miro que no hay gigante ni caballero alguno, ni gatos, ni armas, ni escudos partidos ni enteros, ni veros azules ni endiablados! ¿Qué es lo que hace, pecador soy yo a Dios?'

But the armies of Alifanfaron and Pentapolin, of Micocolembo and of Brandabarbarom, of Timonel of Carcaxona 'who came with armour quartered azure, vert, argent, and or, bearing on his shield a cat or, in a field gules, with a scroll inscribed *Miou*, being the beginning of his mistress's name, who, it is reported, is the peerless Mioulina', marched on undisturbed by any descent of a Don Quixote from the mounds of Ur, or the tearful protests of a Sancho; and from the sounds that came from them one would suppose that a sheep with a scroll inscribed *Baa* would have been a more probable device for the shield of the mighty Timonel of Carcaxona. '*Baa! baa!*' as they marched by, one cohort succeeded by another, each in its cloud of dust; '*baa*, *baa*,' as if in salute to the lonely temple-tower, until the rearguard passed away towards the northern horizon in a haze of dust and westering sunlight, as Shamash sank swiftly to his settle. A moment ago a great red oval, the 'fried egg' of many a profane comparison, trembling on the verge of the horizon; the next a point of light suddenly extinguished. Then the wonderful sky-colours of the afterglow, but without the beautiful effects on desert hills and cliffs that we see in Egypt, for there are no hills or cliffs in 'Iraq. Simply the illimitable steppe, growing ever duller as the light wanes. 'Master's tiffin ready!' I fold up my campstool, knock out my pipe, and turn into the tent, where lighted candles and lamp, with their buzzing accompaniment of insects, shew me my dinner. It is already, if there is no moon, black night outside. If the moon is up, but young, the mingling of twilight with moonlight causes the strangest effects, like that of the light during a solar eclipse. If Nannar shines full

and strong down upon his temple, it seems as light as full day again, and I can take photographs with an exposure of half an hour if I wish.

I did not notice the contrast between the after-sunset chill in comparison with the day-heat so much as in Egypt.

The climate from the middle of February till the beginning of April was delightful by day. It was cold at night still till the beginning of March, and I found the oil-stove, kindly lent me by my friends at H.Q., Naṣirīyyah, a godsend. And I even find a record of a cold night as late as 21 March; but I think that must have meant cold in contrast to the heat of the day; although as a matter of fact I well remember how cold that night was, as I ran down in a Ford to the Junction to dine with the railway mess; how 'Abdu'l-Ghani muffled up his head in his pagri in the usual Egyptian and Indian fashion in cold weather, so that I wondered how he could see the road in spite of the glare of the headlights. The whole effect was that of a hard dry frost at home. The cold pierced one's marrow: yet I wonder what degree Fahrenheit it really was: probably not much below 60°. On the 30th it suddenly got warmer: on the 31st it was hot at night, and 2 April I donned my topi for the first time. Cloudy cooler days succeeded till on the 5th happened a violent sandstorm that turned me and my tents inside out, levelled the kitchen to the ground and spoilt the cookery for that day; only by summoning the men to hold desperately down the tent-ropes, while the tents flapped furiously, and the garments of the Arabs blew about their heads, did we finally succeed in stemming the fury of the blast. Next day came a thunderstorm. This day, Sunday, 6 April, I went out with a couple of cars to look for possible new sites, and in the course of the day discovered al-'Ubaid, besides a Moslem site further west and another early site astride the railway towards Ur, Tell Abū Sakhāri by name. We had had no rain since that damp and depressing day at Sūq al-'Afēj, 7 February, and I was not expecting any; but suddenly the tempest descended upon us out of the desert: the black clouds gathered swiftly and rolled up towards us; stately rainstorms stalked across the waste, the lightnings of the god Adad flashed and shivered along the sky, the voice of Adad crashed above the roar of the descending rain. The Fords fled back to Ur over the desert, pursued by the stabbing spears of rain, bright in the sunlight that came out from behind the hurrying clouds. The flood was already gathering in the gullies, and when we got back to camp a waterfall

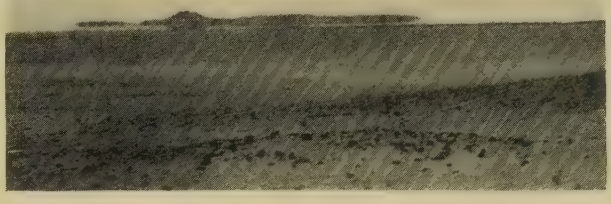
was coursing over the edge of the ziggurrat mound, and the cook was busily engaged in retrieving his pots and pans from the washout that had overthrown his tent and put out his fire. This was the second time in two days that he had been brought level with the dust, and his plaints rose loud on the evening air. Terrible indeed were the miseries that had befallen him in this mad place Sulman Pak!

All next day there were heavy thunderstorms out in the desert, though we were not visited: on the 8th it was showery, and the weather remained so-so till on the 12th another sandstorm, complicated with sand-fly fever on my part, with the result of acute discomfort. Sand-fly fever is a curious affliction that begins with a sudden rise of temperature, in my case to 102°, and aches and pains that almost make one unable to move. It is presumed to be due to the bite of sand-flies. It disappears next day, usually, but returns perhaps a day or two later, and then goes. So it did with me, aided in its departure by sun-heat, a heavy great-coat, and copious libations of red wine, an infallible specific if it can be got. And I had it, in the shape of several flasks of Chianti, obtained in Naṣirīyyah by some chance; and the empty Chianti flasks in the kitchen-tent testified to my appreciation of the medicine—and perhaps Sousa's!

All the days were very windy now till the 21st, with gradually increasing heat. Mirage made its appearance. Anything more curious than a train on the railway, coming back from railhead at Samāwah to Ur, when seen from a distance in the mirage, it is impossible to conceive. Out there in the desert there are trolls, obviously. Four or five round dark balls are rolling along there, each apparently about twenty feet high. Obviously they are *afarīt* (afreets); it is just the form that trolls would take. They *are* afreets, or one of them is; for these are an engine and trucks seen in the mirage. Gradually the round balls begin to take shape, but they are still absurd, the engine-troll especially so, with a ridiculous funnel six times as high as itself. 'Curiouser and curiouser', it seems to say. However, this soon shrinks, like Alice, and eventually a prosaic locomotive and train steams past, looking rather offended, as who should say 'What are you all laughing at?' The *tells* around look like boats in a sea, their ends rounded off, with a shimmering line of light between them and the earth. Or they look like airships or submarines (Fig. 105). Red Ur itself resembles a dolomite summit above clouds till we near it and it assumes its accustomed form.

The 21st (Easter Monday) was calm and still and blazing. On this day we made the move by camel and car to Shahrain. My fortnight at Abu Shahrain was hot, as will appear in the sequel. It was fine, though often very windy, till the 29th, when it became overcast and inclined to rain. At night it actually rained, and next morning was again overcast with occasional showers; and it remained cloudy all day. But clouds did not mean coolness. The heat merely became oppressive. And we had no ice or other luxuries at Shahrain.

From 8 May, when we moved from Shahrain to al-'Ubaid, till 15 May, it was at first hotter than ever, but much more bearable than at Shahrain, owing to the greater amenity of the place and the fact that we could get ice again. The 15th was a queer day; with threatened thunder and thick mist in the afternoon, followed next day by a sudden fall in temperature: a fine, cool day. But the heat soon conquered again, and the work ended on the 24th in a blaze of heat that made it almost impossible to move without dissolving. And this continued after I left for Baṣrah on the 26th. At Baṣrah troops were wearing spine-pads. The highest shade temperature while I was there was said to be 119° Fahr.; at 'Ubaid it was 116°, and at Shahrain the week before 118°. So I had passed through the gamut of Mesopotamian temperature from the freezing point, which it was at when I landed in the preceding December, to a temperature higher than any before in my experience, my previous acme having been the reputed record 100° shade temperature in London in August 1911, at the time of the Railway Strike of that year. I had rather enjoyed that, and felt no ill-effects whatever from the 'Iraqi heat or from the 98° in the shade at Luxor in Egypt which I experienced in July, on the way home. In fact 'Iraq is quite a healthy country: one only has to be careful and sensible. Of course if one defies the heat and doffs one's topi: then Shamash takes



105.—TELL AL-MUQAYYAR (UR) IN A MIRAGE
From the west: note the reflection of the ziggurrat (Woolley, 1923)

his swift revenge, and you may be a dead man before the day is out.

Naturally the heat is felt much more in tents than in houses. I, like many others, had no cool *serdabs* in which to take refuge from the rays of Shamash. The Indian military tents with two poles each, two of which were lent me by the Army (one for a museum), were the best that could be got. I grilled in them during my so-called 'siestas' at Shahr-ain! My other tents, old Turkish ones from Ḥillah that I had brought with me, seemed to be enough for Sousa and his friends, and for the Arab raïses. In fact they regarded them as rather luxurious abodes, I believe. 'Amrān 'furnished' his with an old Rūrkī chair for grandeur, and outside for *fantasīya* he kept on a perch a young hawk, a wild-eyed thing, half-tamed, that seemed to know him but regarded my advances with aversion. Apparently it is very fine to have a hawk about: it gives the impression of riding forth nonchalantly hawk on fist in gay and gallant cavalcade: one is supposed to feel 'mafioso', full of 'omertà', or as the Russians say, 'lihòy', 'sporty' *plus* much else beating cock-fighting. But I would as soon have tried to ride the whirlwind as one of the horrible quarrelsome little Arab stallions, so I never proposed to go forth hawking with chiefs and princes and a proud and important 'Amrān in my train (much to his regret). The poor hawk languished on his perch and eventually disappeared. I believe it had been lent by Munshid in order to add to my dignity: finding it unappreciated it was withdrawn.

We hunted, however, one or twice by chance, but not with hawk or hound: from a Ford. Once 'Abdu'l-Ghani ran down a gazelle, and he shot one or two from his car. Once we ran over a snake some four feet long and of much the colour of the sand: it struck at the radiator as we ran over it and broke its back. This was the only large snake I saw at Ur. It may have been *Malpolon monspessulana* (Montpellier's snake).[1]

Happily, no sluqi hound was conferred upon me in order to make me more shaikhly. They are uncomfortable, unintelligent creatures, to my mind, with little affection, at any rate in their own country. And though 'pie' or pariah dogs may in Egypt be turned into passable imitations of decent animals as company to an excavator, as my friend Ayrton the

[1] Conjecturally identified for me by my colleague Dr. H. W. Parker, of the British Museum (Natural History).

excavator shewed in the Tombs of the Kings, they cannot in 'Iraq. And an English dog, like the bull-terrier already mentioned as belonging to our first sergeant-major, is in 'Iraq too exotic. So we had no dog, much as I should have liked one as a companion.

However, as we have seen, I had more than enough to occupy my mind without bothering about companionship, and the time passed swiftly. Also there was, as there always is on excavations, the constant excitement of expectation and the pleasure of successful finding or the chill of disappointed hopes. What we found at Ur during the first year's excavation there was not spectacular, but the work was worth doing as an experiment, to find out what Ur was likely to produce. The details of what we found now follow: what it has produced since, we know!

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK AT UR

THE chief work carried out by me at Ur was the excavation of the building 'B' (Fig. 106), the discovery of which has been briefly recorded on p. 123. It soon became evident that a building of some size had been discovered, with a big outer wall of fine square burnt

106.—BUILDING 'B' WITH ZIGGURRAT BEYOND

bricks, 14 inches in diameter, of the type associated with the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur. On 5 March I was able to concentrate our chief effort upon it. Several large rooms within were now appearing out of the sandy soil, all rectangular, with walls 5 feet thick; the Babylonian knew how to build so

as to keep out both heat and cold! They were the ground-floor rooms, or in a sense the cellars, of a great building, rooms analogous to the *serdabs* in which the modern 'Iraqi takes refuge from the heat of the sun in summer. The upper stories were probably of lighter construction; but they had disappeared. In a corner of one of these lower rooms were found on the 6th the first tablets from 'B', a few business documents of the IIIrd Dynasty and Isin periods: such as Brit. Mus. No. 114060, an account tablet, dated in the 16th year of Gungunum, king of Larsa, about 2155 B.C.; and No. 114059,

107.—OUTER WALL OF BUILDING 'B'

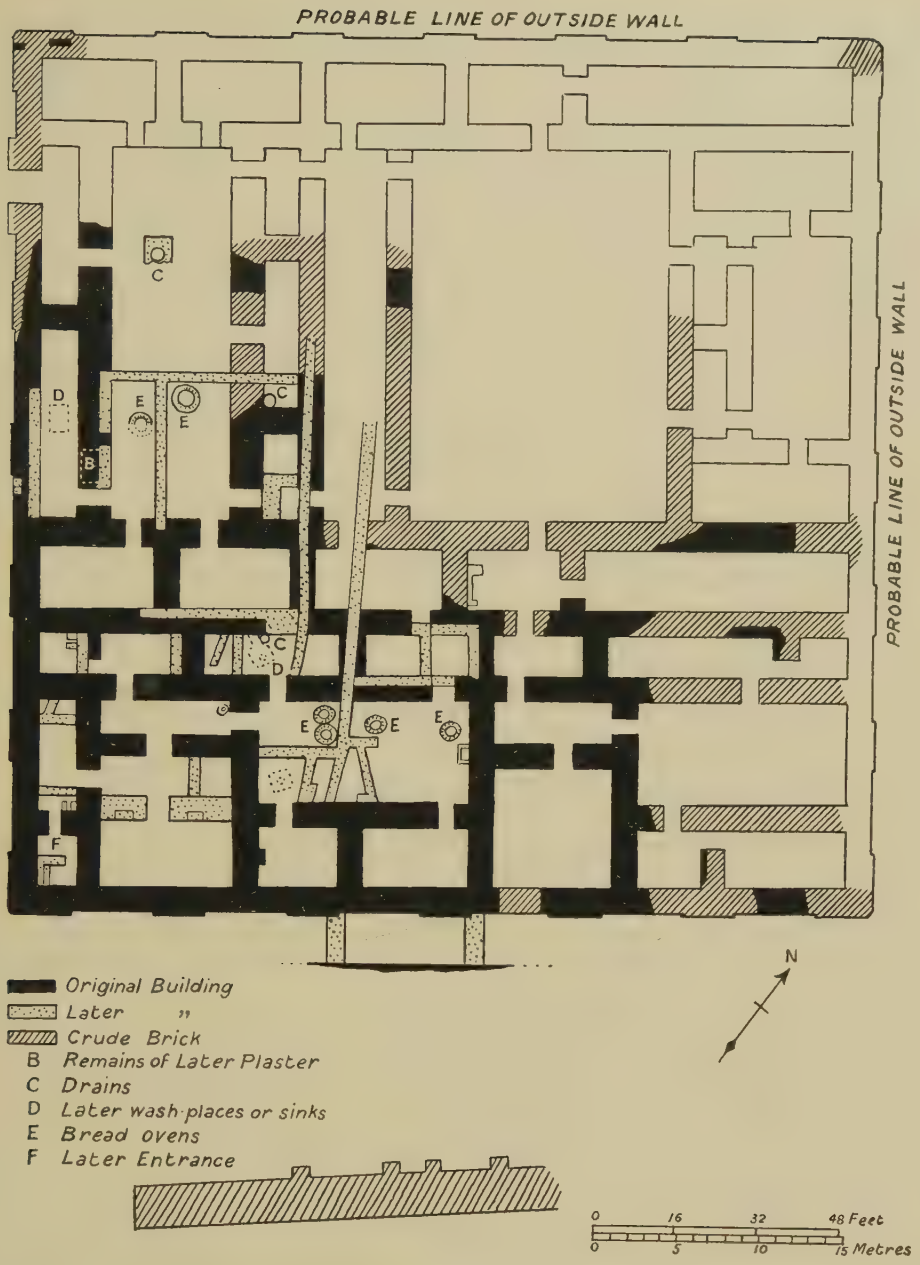
another, of the reign of Idin-Dagan of Isin, about 2130 B.C. Next day the south corner of the building was traced, and its south-east wall began to appear. The corner is rounded off. The wall was extremely well built, with the same splendid bricks, and is preserved up to a height of 8 feet above a foundation 'step' of brick which Mr. Woolley afterwards found to rest on crude brick foundations. The walls have panelled faces, about 8 inches deep and 10 feet long, alternating with 'buttresses' of about the same length, in much the same style as the wall of the ziggurrat (Fig. 107).

We continued clearing out this building with the main force of the Turks for several weeks, the work not being finally brought to an end until

we went to Shahrain. It was slow owing to complications caused by later walls built on and over the original ruined walls, which I did not wish to destroy, in order that some idea might be obtained of the way in which later reoccupation was carried out. As finally left by me the building measured about 120 feet in length by 90 feet in width.[1] The work was not completed, since it was obvious that it extended further east. When Mr. Woolley came to Ur in 1922–3, it was examined by the late Mr. F. G. Newton, who replanned the original building and suggested the limits of its further extent in the plan published by me in my article 'Ur and Eridu' in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ix (1923), p. 184, Fig. 3. Since then, in 1922, Mr. Woolley has completed the excavation of the building, the final plan of which, so far as its preserved original walls are concerned, is published by him in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. vi, Pl. LVII. From this it is evident that Mr. Newton's suggested limit for it erred in modesty: it measured originally nearly a square of 180 feet. In the plan published (Fig. 108), I have shewn Mr. Woolley's additional discoveries, the black and cross-hatched portions representing the original walls found by us both, and the stippled the later walls found by me in my part of the building and planned by me with the assistance of Mr. O. D. O'Sullivan (see p. 276) in 1919. They shew the way in which the later builders worked over the old building, now using the ruined old walls as the foundation of their work, and now running entirely new walls dividing up the ancient chambers, besides putting up other erections within it.

'B' (or as Mr. Woolley now designates it, 'HT,' *i.e.* Hall's Temple) was identified by me[2] with *Ê-kharsag*, 'The House of the Mountain', an edifice erected by the king Shulgi (or Dungi) of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, possibly (since no god's name is mentioned in the brick inscription commemorating it) a civil building, perhaps a royal palace. This, however, is by no means certain, and it may be that, as Mr. Woolley and Mr. Sidney Smith at first thought,[3] the building is really part of the great temple of the Moon-god, *Ê-giš-šir-gal*, 'The House of Light'. Bricks were found by me in a pavement at the north end of 'B' which had the Ê-kharsag inscription of Shulgi. But in the outer wall of 'B' Mr. Newton and Mr.

[1] Misprinted 100 by 99 in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1923, p. 185.
[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Dec.* 1919, p. 25; and *Ant. Journ.* III (1923), p. 317.
[3] *Ant. Journ., loc. cit.*



108.—BUILDING 'B' ('HT'), WITH EXCAVATION AS COMPLETED BY WOOLLEY, SHEWING LATER WALLS (N.W. AND N.E. OUTER WALLS DESTROYED)

Sidney Smith found bricks of Ur-Nammu, the predecessor of Shulgi, commemorating the building of temple and town-wall generally. So

that the building was certainly begun by Ur-Nammu, and if the Ê-kharsag bricks were *in situ* at its northern end, either Shulgi must have finished it and called it Ê-kharsag, or, as Mr. Woolley was inclined to suggest, he may have used bricks intended for Ê-kharsag, which was elsewhere. 'B' lay within the temenos of the Moon-god, which Mr. Woolley and Mr. Newton traced well round to the south of it. Also its outer wall was built with 'temple' bricks. If 'B' is Ê-kharsag, it was then none the less part of the temple of Nannar. If not, Ê-kharsag is really somewhere else close by and bricks belonging to it were used in the temple either by Shulgi or at a later time. Mr. Woolley thought then that it was elsewhere, but still within the temenos. But Prof. Langdon tells me that he doubts whether a civil building, as Ê-kharsag presumably was, would be found within the temenos. If this is so, either Ê-kharsag was not a civil building or 'B', at any rate, is not Ê-kharsag. If it is both Ê-kharsag and part of the temple, then such a building can be found within a temple-compound. Mr. Woolley and Mr. Smith were inclined to regard it as part of the actual shrine of Nannar with rooms to the south-east used as living-quarters by the priests. This I do not think is probable. When Mr. Woolley and Mr. Newton carried out further excavations in 'B', finding beneath the burnt brick walls other and possibly older walls of crude brick, which is the material one usually associates with temple-buildings in Babylonia, they also found a foundation deposit, consisting of one of the usual copper figures holding a basket on the head and a stone dedication tablet—uninscribed! This was a disappointment, as the tablet should have told us beyond cavil what the building was and who built it.

Outside the east 'corner' of 'B', so far as it was then excavated, I found, displaced, a stone foundation tablet of *Ê-makh*, 'The Noble House,' the temple of the goddess Ninsun, dedicated by Ur-Nammu, the founder (Fig. 109).[1] Believing 'B' to be Ê-kharsag, I was inclined to think that this tablet must belong to another building of which a crude brick wall found by me close by to the north-east seemed to be the first sign. I was predisposed to regard this presumed building as a temple, as the wall was of crude brick. But if this wall turns out to be connected

[1] I have placed Fig. 109 so as to be read vertically from right to left, as there is no doubt that formal and monumental inscriptions were so cut and read as late as the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon (*c.* 1900 B.C.), after Ur-Nammu's time. (See p. 250, *n.* 3.)

with the simple wall of enceinte to the south-east and not to belong to a building at all, the tablet may really be one of the foundation deposits of 'B', which will then be Ê-makh. Until, however, its precise nature and relation to the other buildings, found by Mr. Woolley, is determined, we shall in this book continue to know it simply as 'B'.

Mr. Woolley has now, however, returned to my idea that the building is Ê-kharsag (*Antiquaries' Journal*, VI, p. 383),[1] but Mr. Sidney Smith, I believe, still holds that the Ur-Nammu 'general service' bricks found by him shew that the building was regarded simply as part of the temple of Nannar (not, of course, the actual sanctuary itself), and that the Ê-kharsag bricks came from outside, were in fact re-used.

109.—FOUNDATION-TABLET OF Ê-MAKH

Part of the building was buried in brick rubbish, while several rooms were filled with wind-blown dust that had accumulated slowly, with hard coagulated strata here and there, each marking the occurrence of a heavy rainstorm in the past.

The plan of what is left of the original building, with its large well-proportioned rooms, is, as will be seen from the plan, very clear, although the precise method of entrance is not visible. In later times it was obscured to some extent by the jerry-built erections mentioned above, which may probably be assigned to the late Assyrian period, when the place was certainly inhabited. These additions consisted of small rooms and corridors with walls partly built on the worn-down stumps of the ancient walls. Often ancient doorways were blocked up (Fig. 110). The ancient vertical drains, many no doubt coeval with the older building, were

[1] He writes: 'I venture to suggest (revising my former views) that it is what the floor-bricks would make it, Ê-Ḫarsag, the palace of Ur-Engur and Dungi' (*i.e.* Ur-Nammu and Shulgi in the later transliteration I have adopted.)—H. H.

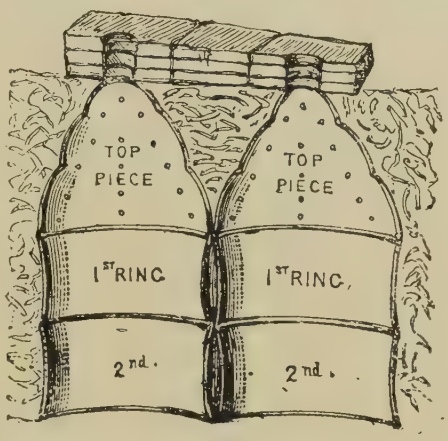
often adapted for use with later wash-places and sinks. These drains are of the usual type found in Babylonian ruins, made of superimposed pottery rings or drums (Fig. 111), each fitting into the other (being alternately of slightly larger and smaller diameter), often perforated at the sides, and when complete crowned with a conical nozzle top. One of these drains in 'B' was found by Mr. Newton to be no less than 12 metres deep. As a curiosity, I reproduce Taylor's illustration of them (Fig. 112). Circular *tholos*-like erections, looking like lunar craters (Fig. 113), measuring about six or eight feet in diameter at the base and less where broken off towards the crown, were most probably bread-ovens, though it has also been suggested that they were pottery kilns. No doubt a good deal of the plain drab pottery of later date found in the upper debris of 'B' and in the tombs was made here, but the 'craters' are more likely to have been ovens than kilns. They are of later date than the building itself, and belong to the late accretions.

110.—ANCIENT ROOM OF 'B' WITH DOOR BLOCKED BY LATER BRICKWORK AND LATER WALL BEYOND

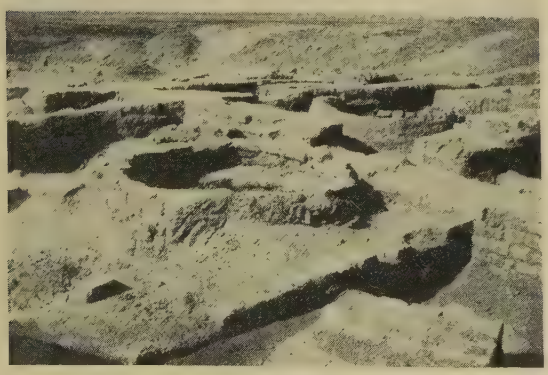
111.—POTTERY PERFORATED DRUM OF A VERTICAL DRAIN: BUILDING 'B'

From a find of four very finely inscribed and baked tablets of the tenth year of Shamash-shum-ukin (658–9 B.C.) and the nineteenth

and twentieth years of Ashurbanipal (650–648 B.C.), we see that certain priestly families then lived here; the tablets being legal documents (wills, legacies, and sales of land) belonging to a single priestly family (Fig. 114). These are: No. 113926, a list of household furniture belonging to a certain Nabu-shum-ukin (seventh century B.C.); No. 113927, will of Bel-iqbi, witnessed in the court of Sin-balatsu, *šakannaku* or governor of Ur, and dated the 18th of the month Araḫšamna in the tenth year of Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon; No. 113929, certificate that a payment for certain landed property has been completed, and that no action for it can lie, dated 19th year of Ashurbanipal; No. 113928, sale of a legacy specified in the will of Bel-iqbi. These were the tablets that I was facetiously accused of having 'salted' for the benefit of a distinguished visitor (p. 149).



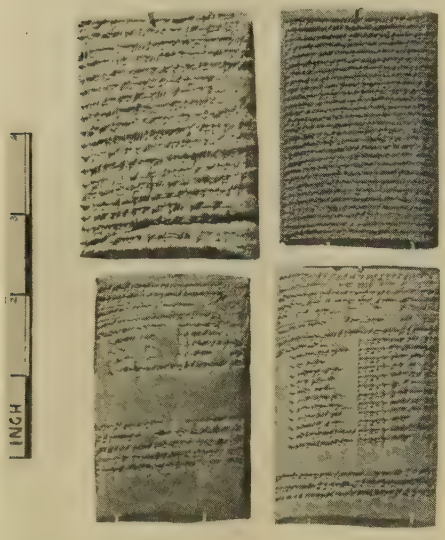
112.—SECTION OF RING-DRAINS AT UR
(Sketched by Taylor)



113.—CIRCULAR BREAD-OVENS (?) OF LATER DATE: BUILDING 'B'

The later erections were certainly added after the building had long been deserted and had fallen into ruin. In fact it may be doubted whether it was used for many years after the fire which destroyed it, which may be ascribed either to the Babylonian attack in the reign of Samsu-iluna or to an Elamite invasion. Owing to this destruction antiquities of the period of the original building were rare, but among them were two fragments of life-size human heads in dolerite, from statues, one probably of a priestess or goddess, the other certainly of a man, of the finest work of the 'Gudea

period', no doubt dating from the time of Ur-Nammu or Shulgi (Brit. Mus., Nos. 114197, 114198). The man's head (Fig. 115) is simply part of the face, shewing typical Sumerian treatment of the eyebrow: the female (?) head (Fig. 116), is a very fine fragment, shewing the hair either dressed in a plaited mass or confined in a net, and an ear, splendidly and individually modelled: the head was evidently a well-characterized portrait. Probably the statues were smashed by the Elamites.



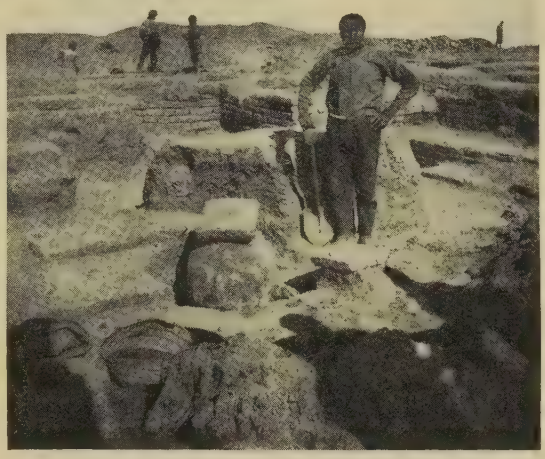
114.—TABLETS OF THE VIITH CENTURY B.C.: BUILDING 'B'

A certain amount of pottery was found, chiefly large standing pots (or 'chattis', as the Turks, borrowing the word from the Indian troops, called them), one or two with bricks laid over their mouths (Fig. 117). They were no doubt of the period of re-occupation. I was

115.—FRAGMENT OF THE HEAD OF A MALE STATUE (BRIT MUS., NO. 114198)

116.—HEAD OF A STATUE OF A PRIESTESS (?) (BRIT. MUS., NO. 114197)

disappointed of finding any tablets in them, as I had hoped. In the rubbish, partly fine wind-blown dust, but consisting also of disintegrated brick, over and beside the building were found several small pottery animal-figurines (Fig. 118), figures of Papsukal, the messenger of the gods, which were buried beneath the floors of houses to drive off demons, some tripodal potter's 'stilts' (Fig. 119) for the pot-kiln, part of a stone weight inscribed 'Two minas: property of the god Nannar' (Fig. 120), and other odds and ends. A steatite conical seal of Syrian form, with design of an ibex and star (Fig. 270), is of earlier date, and a steatite seal-cylinder with the well-known scene of a votary introduced to the Moon-god, within the field a bird and a scorpion, is of the Ur-Nammu period. This type of seal-cylinder was, no doubt, commonly sold as a religious fairing in the booths of Ur, the city of the Moon. A small copper lion's head (Fig. 269) is probably Sumerian. It is solid, with a tenon-hole (see p. 246). Burnt date-stones were common in the rubbish, in which traces of the fire that had consumed the original building were very evident. There had been at the time of the fire a considerable store of dates in one of the rooms. In a room at the north-east end of 'B' (as excavated by me) was a deposit of wood ashes 8 inches thick, with the brick floor beneath it

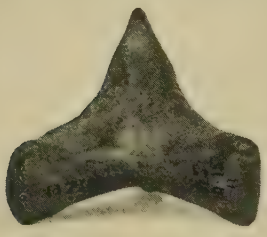


117.—A BRICK-COVERED 'CHATTI': BUILDING 'B'

118.—ANIMAL FIGURINES, UR

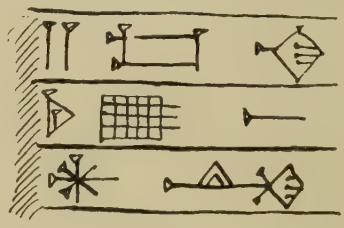
burnt and warped by the fire, which had reddened and cracked the brick walls.

Some additional work was done at 'B' during the last weeks of our stay, 12–24 May. I tried again the experiment of a pit to determine stratification, but with negative results. The pit was ten feet deep. Beneath made earth below the brick pavement was a layer of burnt wood (remains of wooden constructions), below this four feet of earth with fragments of ordinary Sumerian pottery, then three feet of earth containing nothing, then mud. I had no time for further tests of the kind. The rest of this test-work consisted of the complete clearing out of chambers of which the walls had already been dug out, and such operations as Mr. O'Sullivan, who was then planning the building, considered necessary to complete his survey.



119.—A POTTER'S STILT
(Nippur: of the same type as those from Ur)

The second piece of work was the experimental clearance of part of the ziggurrat-face. I wished to obtain some idea of the real appearance of the tower when freed from its clogging mound of talus, and of the amount of work which would in the future be necessary to clear the ziggurrat, when the clearance was undertaken. It has since been carried out by Mr. Woolley and Mr. Newton, with most interesting results, of the highest importance to the study of Babylonian architecture, which are described in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. V.

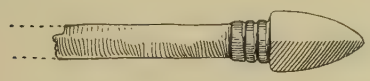


120.—INSCRIPTION ON A STONE WEIGHT: UR

Since the time of Taylor, when he found the foundation-cylinders of Nabonidus, no work had been done on the tower except a short investigation of the summit made by Mr. Thompson in 1918. I selected its south-east face for the clearance. The work was heavy, and, with a small party, slow. The debris of broken bricks lay up against it at an angle of 45° to a height of about 40 feet above the mounds, and

Ramazān and Ḥasan Taḥsin were not able to make much impression on it at first, though I added half-a-dozen of the heftiest Turks to their party, making it twelve in all. However, they worked away for a whole month until on 8 April I transferred Ramazān and four men to al-'Ubaid, whither Ḥasan Taḥsin and the rest followed on the 11th, bringing the work on the ziggurrat temporarily to an end. By this time they had got nearly down to the base of the tower, whose sheer wall with its panels and its ventilation or put-log holes (they served both purposes) now stood up 30 feet high in quite imposing fashion. During the last week a few antikas had come to light: some blue glaze bricks of Nabonidus's upper works, and a fragment of a green one with marbled glazing (118432); an Egyptian scarab-mould of pottery (date sixth century B.C.), No. 114195 (Fig. 136); a bronze needle, an ivory stilus (Fig. 122), and other odds and ends. When I went to Shahrain, from which it was impossible for me to supervise the work at Ur, I left Sergt.-Major Webb, as I have said, to concentrate on the ziggurrat, with a small party of the second-best men (I took the best to Shahrain) to go on clearing the chambers of 'B'. While I was away at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid, the ziggurrat work, carried out by forty men, went with a swing.

121.—CLEARING THE S.E. FACE OF THE ZIGGURRAT



122.—IVORY STILUS: UR

When, in May, work finally ceased on the ziggurrat, the face had been cleared for a length of 60 feet to its base (Fig. 123), and the floor, probably that of Nabonidus' time, reached of the court south-east of it, in which, running diagonally near the wall, was a small conduit of brick. Mr. Woolley has since completed the excavation of the south-east face, with the rest of the ziggurrat (Fig. 124). At the eastern corner I disinterred the lowest

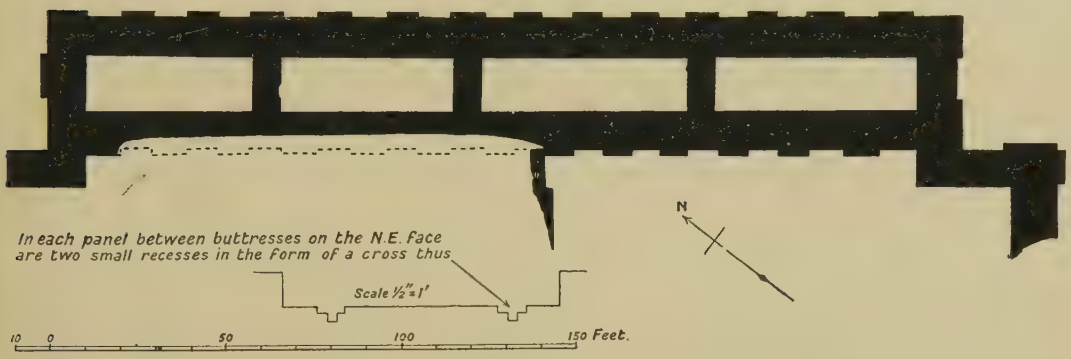
123.—SOUTH-EAST FACE OF THE ZIGGURRAT, MAY 1919

steps of the brick staircase that ascended the south half of the north-east face parallel with the wall. This has now been cleared in its entirety, with the corresponding staircase ascending the northern half of the face from the north corner, and the great central staircase that

124.—THE S.E. AND S.W. FACES OF THE ZIGGURRAT, AS CLEARED BY WOOLLEY

rises from the plain and meets the other two high up on the tower. Taylor apparently describes (imperfectly) the central stair, which Mr. Woolley rediscovered and has finally cleared (see p. 84).

The next work of importance was the excavation of a section of *Ê-temen-ni-gur* or *Ê-temen-ni-il*, 'The House of the Foundation that is clothed with Splendour', which is the temenos-wall ('E') of the temple (Fig. 125). It was built of crude-brick, 38 feet thick, and with chambers 48 feet by 14 feet within its thickness. Similar chambers (casemates or storage-vaults) have been found within a wall of the same kind at Nippur. The outer wall is recessed and niched in the usual Babylonian style, preserved down to the latest ages, which is so remarkably paralleled in the brick buildings of the archaic period only in Egypt. This resemblance is


In each panel between buttresses on the N.E. Face
are two small recesses in the form of a cross thus
Scale ½"=1'
N
10 0 50 100 150 Feet.

125.—SECTION OF THE TEMENOS WALL, EXCAVATED 1919

one of the weapons in the armoury of those who believe in an early connexion between the two cultures. The uppermost courses of this wall, which I discovered on 27 February (see p. 125), were uncovered by me for about 250 feet, between the later-discovered gates of Bur-Sin and Cyrus: as has been stated on p. 111, above, the whole has now been either excavated or traced by Messrs. Woolley and Newton all round the ziggurrat, south of the building 'B'. The line of direction of the portion uncovered by me is parallel with the north-east face of the ziggurrat.

Complementary to this was the cutting of a trial transverse trench in the long eastern mound which seemed to cover the wall of the city as apart from the temple. On the west, temple and town-wall were identical: on the east this did not seem to be so. A space about 150 yards wide of com-

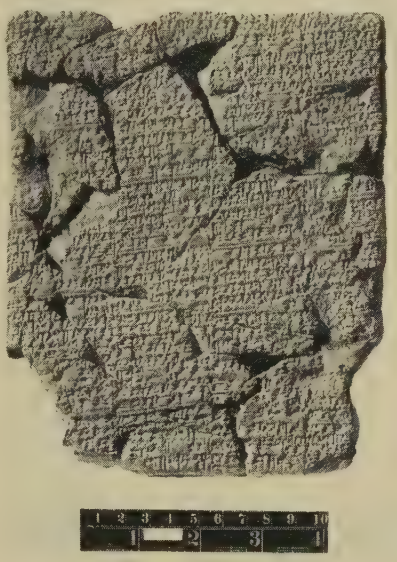
paratively flat ground lay between the temenos-wall and the outer wall-mounds to the east. At a spot which I denominated 'J' I began on 7 April to dig, with local Arabs, a trench exposing what is apparently the worn-down stump of the town-wall, of burnt bricks, only about 12 feet in height (Fig. 126), with other confused cross-walls above it, which will only become intelligible when the whole mound is cleared. Houses abutted against the wall, and close up against it were found three burials, one in an ordinary 'bath' larnax, another in an elongated ribbed inverted tub (Fig. 127), the third in a round one of the same type. Nothing but pottery, in some quantity, was found in them, of the usual type, but for some curious undateable little pots roughly modelled by the hand, without the wheel, but not primitive. This work was stopped on 14 April, after the exposure of the section of wall was complete.

126.—JAGAN NATH AT THE TOWN WALL: 'J'

127.—INVERTED RIBBED POTTERY TUB-BURIAL: 'J'

I now turn to the excavation of houses and tombs. Our first tentative work at the spot marked 'A' on the plan (Fig. 95), south-west of the zig-gurrat, near the edge of the mounds, where a small ravine ran down to the desert, resulted in speedy discoveries. Traces of brick on its edges gave the impression that this ravine might

mark a street. Next day a couple of unbaked cuneiform tablets were found loose in the rubbish. On February 19 more tablets were found lying by the stump of a burnt brick wall, including one very fine one (No. 113915), now in the British Museum, which contains a series of prognostications derived from the observation of the flight of birds, including the eagle, the hawk, and the 'mountain-bird' (Fig. 128). It dates from about 2000 B.C. Other tablets from the same place contained medical prescriptions, business and legal documents of the same period. These tablets will be published later on. The practical identity of the ideas of the Babylonians (and all the other peoples from Babylonia to Asia Minor) with those of the Romans on the subject of auspices (*avispicia*, prognostications derived from the flight of birds) is one of the things in ancient history that give us a jolt. The Egyptians and Greeks had nothing like it. And one remembers again the legendary connexion of the Etruscans with the Hittites.



128.—TABLET OF PROGNOSTICATIONS: UR

We now reached more complete burnt brick walls of houses mixed with tombs. On the 20th we uncovered a fine tomb (A1) of burnt yellow bricks, painted red, with a corbel vaulted roof (like one found by Taylor, Fig. 74; and cf. Woolley, *Ant. Journ.*, VI, pl. lx, *c*), 8 feet 10 inches long by 3 feet 6 inches high, complete, which contained a large oval pottery coffin, 2 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 9 inches wide, and 4 feet 7 inches long, with lid in two parts (Fig. 129), in which was a contracted burial, the body lying on the right side (Fig. 130), with two plain silver pins (without heads) above each shoulder, to secure either the hair or a garment (Fig. 131). The skull was preserved.

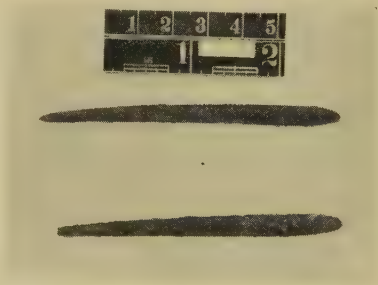
Four more graves (A 2–5) were found here, the detailed descriptions and measurements of which (as of those above), will be published later.

Two were in rectangular brick tombs, of which the roofs had fallen in, in one of which the body had no coffin. The fourth was a child's burial under

129.—OVAL POTTERY COFFIN, TOMB A1: UR

an inverted ribbed tub; the fifth that of an adult, also under a similar tub (Fig. 132). Plain pots were placed outside both these 'coffins', and leaning against them. Both these were probably house-burials; the building above them had been washed away by some rainstorm long ago. The skeletons were almost indistinguishable from the earth within, and

130.—BURIAL IN OVAL POTTERY COFFIN: TOMB A1 (WITH TWO SILVER PINS)



131.—SILVER PINS: TOMB A1

impossible to preserve. No more burials were found, but confused and ruined house-walls, the clearance of which occupied a small party till

5 March, who were rewarded by the recovery of an occasional small tablet, but nothing more. The place had been much ruined, and provided little of interest archaeologically, and meanwhile our chief efforts had on 24 February been transferred to a more attractive site, the building 'B'.

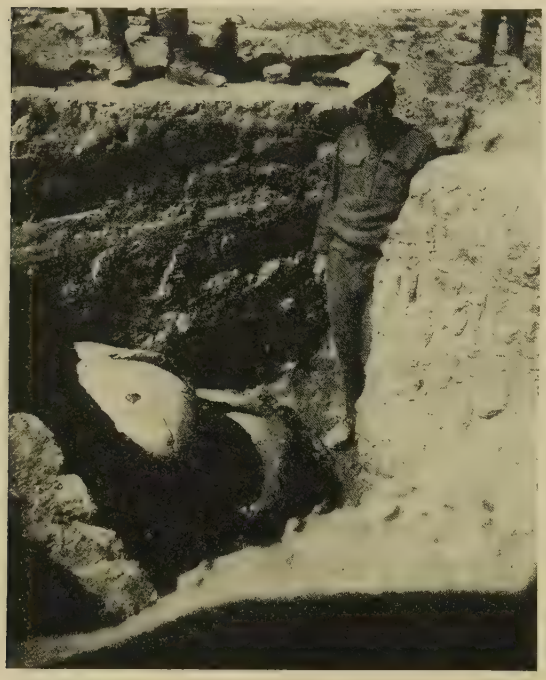
During the fortnight's work at 'A' we made good finds of tablets and had obtained interesting information with regard to tombs beneath houses,

132.—INVERTED TUB-BURIAL WITH VASES AT SIDE: 'A'

and burial-customs generally. This work was taken up again in 1927 by Mr. Woolley, who completed the excavation of a small inhabited quarter absolutely against the south-west wall of the temenos, between the Temple of Ningal close to the ziggurrat and the Gi-par or house of the pallakides, making several very interesting discoveries that have been described above in Chap. III (p. 116).

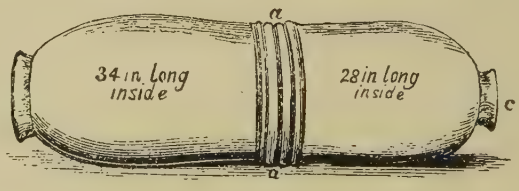
At 'C' and 'D' on 1 March I had, as I have said, put Ramazān and Ḥasan Taḥsin, who always worked well together, with a couple of friends of theirs among the prisoners. They now found three graves (D 1–3) amid

house-walls, of a different type from those at 'A'. The burials in two of them (D. 1, 2) were complete, in large wide-mouthed round pots placed mouth to mouth, each with a nozzle-shaped vent-hole at the end to let out the gases (Fig. 133), as we see in Taylor's illustration (Fig. 134). The third grave (D.3) had been violated and the pots smashed. In the two others nothing at all was left of the bodies, and only a quantity of onyx, carnelian, chalcedony, lapis or blue composition beads, circular, lentoid, and polygonal, the ornaments of the dead, remained, with in each grave a saucer containing birds' bones, the food of the dead. The number of beads in these two pot-burials was very much larger than in the larnax-graves. No smaller pots but the saucers were found. Details of these graves will be published later.



133.—GRAVE WITH DOUBLE-POT BURIAL: 'D': WITH ḤASAN TAḤSIN

Such burials were found by Taylor here and at Tell al- Laḥm, and are known elsewhere in Babylonia. I found nothing to date them by, definitely. The bodies had been adorned with necklaces of coarse beads of carnelian, agate, crystal, and garnet (Fig. 135). But in grave D1, outside the burial-pots, were found an iron bit with ring at each end (No. 115415; $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long), a bronze lamp in the form of a couchant lion (No. 115319, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long) with wings incised on his sides, and one or two iron finger rings of plain section, besides several iron earrings (Fig. 136). Of one body, apparently not belonging to the pot-burial, there



134.—DOUBLE-POT BURIAL AT TELL AL-LAḤM (TAYLOR)

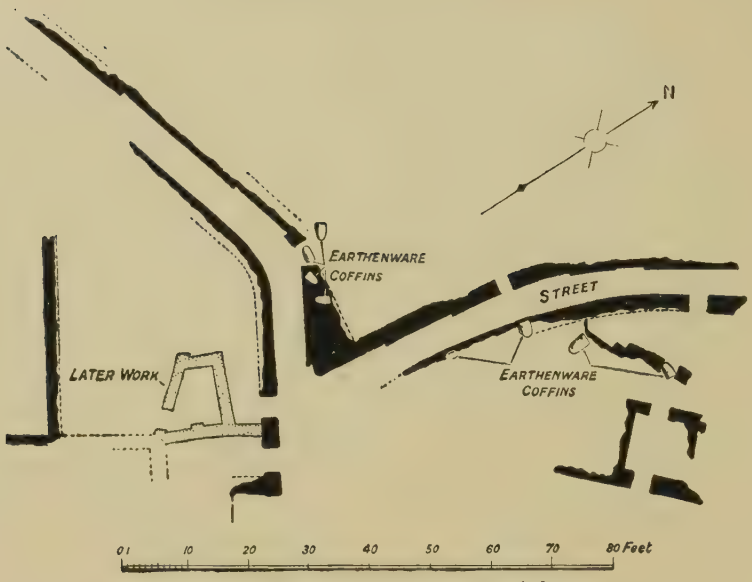
remained only a finger-bone with one iron and one bronze ring. The presence of this iron seems to forbid so early a date as the Third Dynasty of Ur, or anything earlier than *c.* 1300 B.C., unless these objects belonged to a date later than the actual burial, which was then disturbed. Iron finger-rings may belong to a time when iron was valuable, but can hardly be presumed as early as 2200 B.C., the date of the Third Dynasty of Ur, especially in comparatively poor graves like these. The house-walls were much ruined and were not followed up.

135.—STONE BEADS, GRAVES 'D': UR

At 'E' and 'H', on the south side of the cross wadi (see p. 111), beyond, as we now know, the limit of the temple proper, my local Muntafiq 'levies', reinforced by a few Turks, had found and excavated isolated graves ('G') and town-ruins with house-burials ('H'). At 'H' the converging lines of two curved streets or rather alleys, each about 8 feet wide, were followed until they met (Fig. 137; plan by Mr. O'Sullivan). Both were high-walled, the houses in the usual Eastern fashion presenting only a blank face to the street. The burnt bricks of the walls were good and the houses in all probability dated from the time of the IIIrd Dynasty. In one place only was there a trace of later building. They were all razed to a height

136.—MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES FROM 'D' AND THE ZIGGURRAT

Iron bit, bracelets, bronze lion-lamp, pottery scarab-mould, etc.

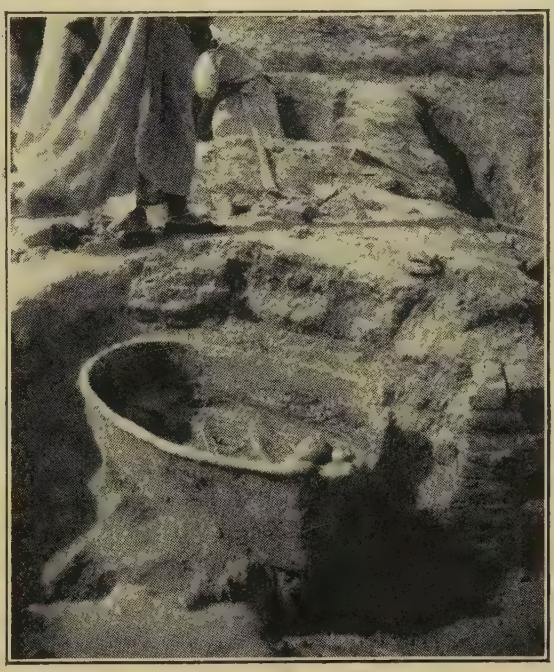


137.—STREET AND HOUSE-BURIALS AT 'H': UR.
(By O. D. O'Sullivan, Lt. R.E.)

of about 5 or 6 feet above the street level, and above this the earth was not more than 3 or 4 feet deep at the most. Seven larnax-burials of the usual kind (to be described in a final publication) were found on and among the walls (Figs. 138 to 140). It is not clear whether these were the burials of later inhabitants whose houses, now disappeared, were placed above the ruined walls of the original builders, so that their house-burials beneath their floors rest on the razed tops of the old walls—or whether they were house-burials of the original wall-builders.

138.—LARNAX-BURIAL AT 'H'

In favour of the first view is the fact that the coffins were buried anyhow in the house-ruins, walls often having been knocked away to receive them. This treatment of the walls certainly looks as if they were buried beneath later houses (of which hardly any traces remain owing to denudation), built over and in the ruins of earlier town-buildings, which still remain owing to their solid construction. If so these burials will be later than the time of the Third Dynasty. At present, however, the matter is uncertain. In one house the larnax was found at a higher level than the floor, on which stood a great round pithos, 5 feet high, which presumably belonged to the older inhabitants. Not far off was a pottery corn-bin (Fig. 141). If the coffin belonged to the owners of the corn-bin and the pithos, the promiscuity of Babylonian customs with regard to the disposal of the dead (see p. 118) receives a more than usually cogent illustration: the dead person was left permanently on a shelf, so to speak, a few feet away from the food of the living! If he had been walled up, the wall had disappeared. There is no doubt that the Babylonians had peculiarly unpleasant ways in this matter.



139.—LARNAX-BURIAL AT 'H'

140.—LARNAX-BURIAL, 'H' (WITH VASE AND TWO BOWLS)

As our knowledge increases, *pari passu* with the grammar of Babylonian graves will proceed that of the pottery, as in Egypt. Our knowledge of the development and history of Babylonian pottery is very small in comparison with the immense amount that we know of the

development and history of Egyptian and Minoan pottery. We can, of course, definitely assign the painted pottery, already described, from Shahrain, 'Ubaid, and other sites to the prehistoric age. It died out in the early Sumerian period, and only occasional traces of its style remain in an occasional band or network of black paint (see p. 186, Fig. 151) on the drab pots of the historic age, which seem to continue for centuries with little change. A considerable quantity of pottery was found in 1919 both in graves and in house-rooms at Shahrain and associated with the early Sumerian finds at al-'Ubaid. The pottery found in the graves at Ur (see Figs. 143–6) is of a very homogeneous style: of soft light-drab ware, wheel-made, with stereotyped forms, usually footed vases of beaker-shape with splay mouth and more or less swelling contour, sometimes small 'alabastra' with necks or longer-necked bottles without feet. Neither the handle nor the spout appears. We shall be right in dating much of this pottery to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Larsa period, but we are so doubtful as to the age of many of the graves in which it is found that it is unwise to be too positive on the subject at present. Some of the pottery found in 'B' is probably of the Assyrian period, such as the vases illustrated in Fig. 146. The handle now appears, but it is curious to see how 'unhandled' Babylonian pottery is compared with that of Greece, or even Egypt.

141.—HOUSE WITH CORN-BIN AND LARNAX: 'H'

With regard to the early Sumerian period we are better informed, from Shahrain, al-'Ubaid, and Kish,[1] where the work of Thompson in 1918, of Woolley in 1923–4, and of Langdon and his colleagues respectively, has enabled us to crystallize out our knowledge of typical early Sumerian pot-forms for the first time. The ware succeeding the painted prehistoric style is drab, generally, but sometimes a thinner reddish ware

[1] The red-painted ware found by Langdon's expedition at Jemdet Naṣr is, of course, of the prehistoric period.

occurs that we do not meet with later (see Fig. 251*b*). The spout is generally short and stumpy. Crude as the pottery often is (Fig. 142), it is strongly influenced by wood and metal forms such as in the case of the latter we know existed in Sumerian days. The early Sumerian 'metal' types are sometimes rather fine (see Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid*, pls. liii, liv; Langdon, *Kish*, I, pl. xiii, 2). The spout is obviously a reed stuck in a wood or pottery receptacle, and easily and well imitated in metal, clumsily only in pottery. The handle is probably a metal-worker's invention. The spout came to Egypt already in late predynastic times, no doubt from Sumer; while the handle was not in use till nearly two thousand years later, at the end of the Middle Kingdom, when it was introduced by the Hyksos invaders from Syria. And this although the existence of the handled jug in Syria and Palestine was well known in Egypt under the Old Kingdom, for we see it used as to express the word *ḫnem*, 'to join', also to 'make', 'create', and the name of the god Khnūm, the potter. Yet they did not make the handled pot themselves until the first great invasion of Syrian manners under the Hyksos. To Babylonia the handle came equally late. We can well suppose that the spout was invented by the reed-using dwellers in the Babylonian marshes, the handle by the metal-workers of the Caucasus, to which region we are now inclined to trace much of the very early civilization of the Near East. So our spouted and handled teapot is perhaps partly of Sumerian, partly of Caucasian origin, and owes its origin partly to the land of Adam and Eve, partly to that of Tubal-Cain.

142.—CRUDE EARLY SUMERIAN POTTERY: SHAHRAIN (THOMPSON, 1918

Most of the pottery I found at Ur, in graves and elsewhere, seems to me to belong either to the period between the late-Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur and the middle Kassite age, or to the Assyro-Babylonian epoch, the time of Ashurbanipal and Nabonidus. Characteristic of the earlier time are big pots, some 18 inches high or more, sometimes with large heavy feet,

sometimes footless, with a long body, massive neck and boldly-moulded, metallic-looking lip (Fig. 143), No. 117814 from 'A'. Then there are the very common bell-mouthed pots, usually with feet, whose curved bodies and wide opening mouths are very characteristic and unmistakable (Fig.

143.—UR POTTERY: 1919

144, from graves at 'A' and 'H'). The changes are rung on these in many ways. A very ugly 'drainpipe' type (Fig. 143, second from the right), $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, is of the same date. Metal influence is noticeable here. A red pot, round and without foot (Fig. 145), $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, from 'A',

144.—UR POTTERY: 1919

shews in its boldly and harshly modelled neck and lip the same mark of metallic origin (cf. the stone pot, Fig. 147). Small cylindrical pots (115401–2), also from 'A' and of the same period, also have a hard and strongly marked lip (Fig. 146). A red ware pot of lanky and also clumsy

145.—UR POTTERY: 1919

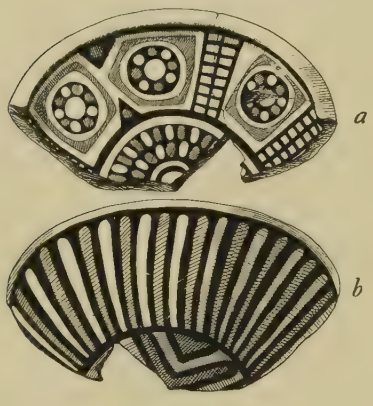
form (117858; Fig. 146, centre) is probably of Kassite date; and other ugly little pots of the same time are also found in Assyria. Plain saucers are common at most periods, but best in ware and form in the older age. No. 117846, from 'A', and therefore probably of the Third Dynasty or Larsa period, is of a fine red ware, with good rim, folded in the

146.—UR POTTERY: 1919

manner we see used in some early gold work (Fig. 145, right lower). It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and so is rather wide.

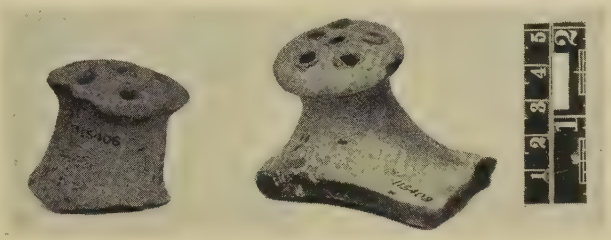
147.—COARSE ALABASTER AND POLYCHROME FAYENCE VASES: UR, 1919
(NOS. 114341, 121189)

The fine 'egg-shell' bowls (115404, etc.) were rather difficult to date on my evidence, but they seem very late. This extraordinarily thin, very fine, ware is not uncommon; always in the form of a plain round bowl, rather high-sided for its size (averaging $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 6 inches diameter), sometimes decorated with a band of diagonal marks lightly incised (Fig. 146, upper left and right). They were found generally at 'H', with the certainly late jugs such as Fig. 146, lower left and right (Nos. 117843, 117852), of fine ware, well made and carefully modelled. The first has incised upon it the Aramaic sign 𐡄. Such pots, averaging about 6 to 8 inches high, are characteristic of the later ceramic of Ur. Of fayence there were two examples from 'H'—one a footless polychrome vase, 8 inches high,



148.—POLYCHROME FAYENCE BOWL
(NO. 115405)
a, inside; *b*, outside

with orange and green bands each about 1½ inches broad (Fig. 147), the other a rough pale-blue glaze bottle. The first resembles types found by Andrae at Ashur and is presumably of the same date: the late Assyrian period. The second is a blue fayence bottle of common type and Persian date. At 'F' half of a very fine polychrome bowl (of earlier date), 6⅞ inches in diameter, turned up, with gay stripes of blue and yellow outside and a design of blue and yellow spots within (Fig. 148).



149.—PERFORATE VASE-NOZZLES: POTTERY, UR, 1919

Colanders or strainers were found at 'B': of rough ware: 115409 (Fig. 146, left lower centre) measures 3 by 3¾ inches. Some of these strainers were at the end of vase spouts (115406–8; Fig. 149). Vase-stands like the Egyptian were used for the footless pots, some of which were of great size like Minoan pithoi, and were used no doubt for the same purpose of storing grain and oil (Fig. 141). Fragments of these big vases with impressed rosette or raised strap-and-nail decoration (Fig. 150), the latter perhaps recalling the net in which such a pot was often slung, are usual (Nos. 115412–5). The only coloured pot, apart from fayence, is 115436, which has a poor decoration of diagonal cross-lines in black paint, recalling the strap-and-nail motive (Fig. 151). It is a survival of the old painted style. Mr. Woolley has found another example of this type (No. 120902). Otherwise the whole of the pottery is of the one mono-

150.—PITHOS-FRAGMENTS WITH IMPRESSED AND RELIEF DESIGNS: UR, 1919

tonous yellowish-drab, characteristic of Babylonian wares in the historic period. Fragments of the prehistoric painted pottery were found, exactly like that of Shahrain and al-'Ubaid, of course, with a few flint and chert flakes, mostly up against the temenos-wall ('E') and entirely out of position, having been simply thrown up in the course of the digging of the foundations of the wall. None whatever was found where I had expected to find it, in the pit dug at the north end of 'B' (p. 168). There was nothing there above the primeval mud but plain ordinary Sumerian ware, of the reddish colour that is perhaps characteristic of the earliest periods. All the mounds were not occupied, evidently, in prehistoric times.

151.—LATER PAINTED POTTERY: UR, 1919

Most of the pottery I found came from the house-ruins and coffins at 'H' and the tombs at 'A' and 'G': a little from the building 'B'.

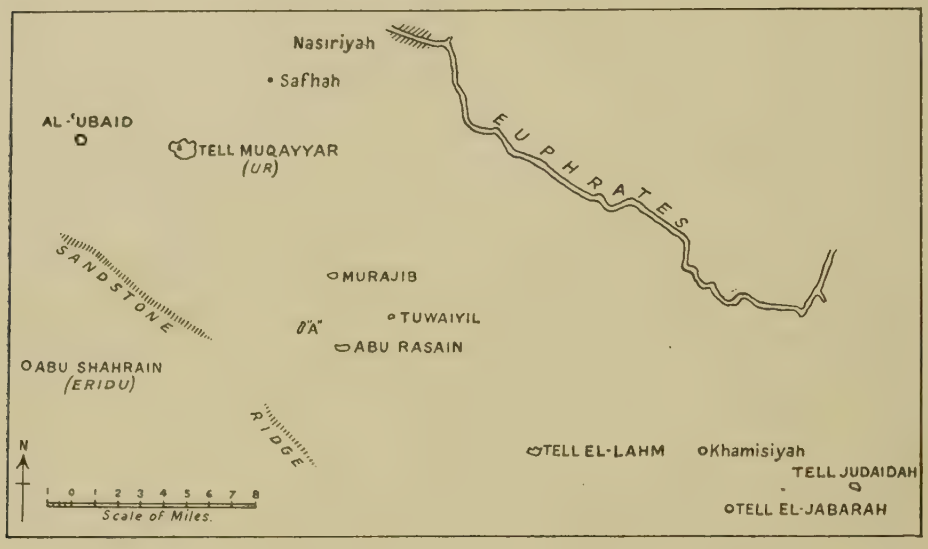
This completes the general account of my experimental work at Ur itself. I now go on to the work at Shahrain and the most important of all, that at al-'Ubaid.

CHAPTER VII

ABŪ SHAHRAIN

I HAVE already mentioned the work of Taylor and Thompson at Abu Shahrain, the ancient Eridu. I can only find record of one archaeologist having visited Shahrain between Taylor and Thompson, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, who went there and to Muqayyar in 1888 from Sūq ash-Shuyūkh (*By Nile and Tigris*, I, 241). Prof. Hilprecht's statement (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 181) that 'owing to the seclusion of the spot and the insecurity of its neighbourhood, Abû Shahrein has never been visited again (since Taylor's time) by any European or American explorer', is not quite correct, therefore. But so unknown was Shahrain, owing to the fact that the Turkish authorities would rarely allow anybody to go there or even to Muqayyar, on account of possible attacks by the Muntafiq, or by desert Arabs, that, as Hilprecht remarks (*op. cit.*, 178, *n.* 1), it was often, in defiance of the direct statements of Taylor (which can never have been read), placed not only miles away from its real situation, but even on the wrong side of the river! The most conspicuous example of this extraordinary error known to me is in the German Assyriologist Delitzsch's book, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (published in 1881): he says (p. 228) that Eridu is 'to-day the ruins of *Abu Šaḫrain* on the left bank of the Euphrates, not far downstream from *Muḳajjar*, nearly opposite the Arab town of *Sûḳ eš-Šejûḫ*. See Ménant, page 59 ff.' The reference is to Ménant's *Babylone et la Chaldée*, published in 1875, and Hilprecht ascribes the same error to Ménant, from whom Delitzsch presumably derived it. I cannot find that Ménant ever definitely stated that Shahrain was on the left bank, but in his map it certainly is so placed, and Delitzsch must have followed this without ever having looked at Taylor's report in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1855. The mounds lie on the opposite side of the Euphrates and sixteen or twenty miles away

in the desert beyond it! The error was corrected by Scheil in 1898 (*Rec. de Trav.*, XXI, 126), but even he seems also quite ignorant of Taylor's publication, although Ménant had reproduced the latter's plans. As Hilprecht says, Scheil's statement 'is correct, but only confirms facts better known from Taylor's own accurate reports, which, however, do not seem to have been read carefully by Assyriologists during the last twenty-five years' (*op. cit.*, 179, *n.*). Hilprecht himself, however, has not always understood Taylor. As I have said, he has in his mind an exaggerated idea of the 'depth' of the 'valley' in which Shahrain lies. Taylor unluckily calls it 'deep': it is merely a shallow



152.—UR, ABU SHAHRAIN, AL-'UBAID, AND NEIGHBOURING SITES

depression, not more than 20 feet below the rest of the desert, if that. It is 'deep' only for Babylonia, in relation to the surrounding landscape. His denial that Shahrain 'is identical with Nowawis, as assumed by Peters (*Nippur*, II, 96, 298 ff.)', is also erroneous. I have heard Shahrain called 'Nowawis' myself; and the name is said to mean 'grasshoppers' and to refer to the numerous cicadas which fill the air with their strident shrilling there and on the desert around in the spring and summer mornings. I have been nearly deafened by them in May. Thompson, however, (*Archaeologia*, *loc. cit.*, 106) heard the name interpreted as meaning 'coffins' (from *nūwās*), a reference to the fragmentary late *larnakes* of pottery that

lie about on the subsidiary mounds near by.[1] Is the supposed meaning 'grasshoppers' due to a confusion with *nāmāwis* or *nāwāmīs* (plural of *nāmūs*), usually = 'gnats'? In this connexion it may be noted that Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*, I, 386) noted that in Sinai old surface-tombs of stone are often called *nāwāmīs*, interpreted by the Arabs as 'gnats' houses', but in reality derived—as, he notes (p. 411), Rawlinson had pointed out—through Persian *navūs* from the Greek *ναός*, 'temple shrine'. So that the 'Iraqi *nowawis* may = *nāwāmīs* (since *m* and *w* or *v* are easily interchanged in Semitic), but mean not gnats or grasshoppers at all, but simply 'ruins', ancient buildings or tombs.

I had intended to preserve the continuity of the British Museum's work by doing some digging at Shahrain myself; and as soon as, after the end of the winter rains, the surface of the desert was really good going and there was no further danger of a car being bogged, on Sunday, 16 March, I paid my first visit to Shahrain, in company with other officers from the Junction and from Naṣirīyyah. We were quite a large party, and I as 'the Professor' was expected to do the honours of Eridu. I am afraid I hardly came up to my professorial reputation, as I should have rehearsed the visit beforehand if I was to explain this strange confused mass of mounds. So after a general examination I joined the junior and more frivolous members of the party in potting (I regret to say with Service ammunition) at beer-bottles: we all had, of course, rifles with us in case of attack by the Badu'. Two senior officers, lamenting my lapse, continued to perambulate the mounds in search of souvenirs and the enlightenment which I had not been able to provide. But I enjoyed our Bisley, and the remains

153.—A DESERT SIGNPOST ON THE WAY TO SHAHRAIN

[1] I have taken the above, with slight modification, with permission, from my article 'Ur and Eridu', *J.E.A.*, 1923, p. 178, *n.* 3.

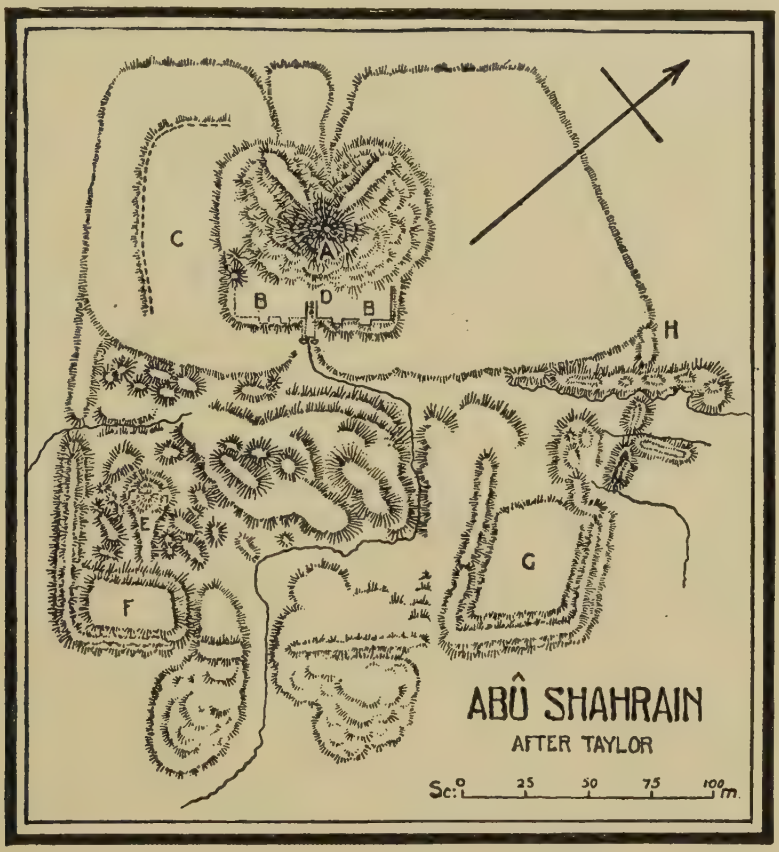
of the massacred beer-bottles will remain to puzzle future excavators of Shahrain (Fig. 154).

A week later I went on a more scientific reconnaissance to Shahrain, with the raïses and four Turks (Fig. 155). We inspected the whole of the mounds and decided on where to dig if an excavation were organized. My idea was not to go on with Thompson's system of stratification-pits, with its collections of fragments discovered at different levels (which had been of great interest), but to find buildings, as at Ur, which could be cleared, could give us some idea of what was temple and what was town, and if possible tell us also their date. Shahrain presented a contrast to Muqayyar in its soil, which instead of being comparatively compact earth, is a very loose sand, held together only by tussocks of rough grass and thorn. It resembles a rather complicated Dutch dune more than anything else, is about the same height, and has much the same character. If one can imagine the Sisyphean task of excavating a Dutch dune, then the work at Shahrain can be visualized. It certainly would have been an appropriate occupation for the Egyptian ushabti-figures, which, according to the VIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, among their labours for their dead master were enjoined to 'carry sand from the East to the West'. A somewhat futile occupation, it

154.—THE SHAHRAIN BISLEY

155.—THE 'SCIENTIFIC RECONNAISSANCE' ON THE WAY TO SHAHRAIN

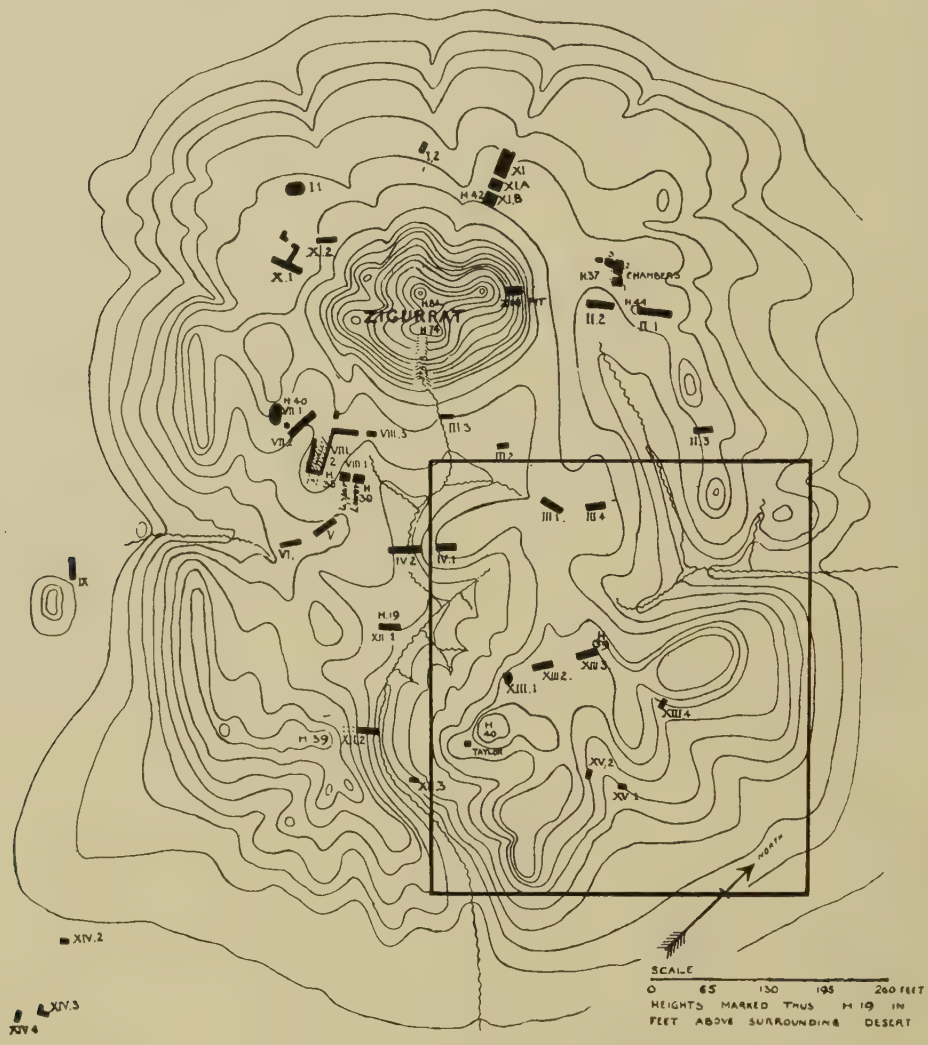
would seem. And at Shahrain the problem of how to get rid of the loose sand is one that future excavators on the grand scale will have to deal with. However, we saw wall-tops that betrayed buildings, and decided to dig there. Taylor's plan (Fig. 156), was of little use. This was not on account of shifting sand. The Shahrain dunes do not move, and though the winter rains no doubt affect the surface contours of



156.—TAYLOR'S PLAN OF SHAHRAIN, 1856

the mounds to some extent, and I understand that now the buildings which I dug nine years ago are almost entirely re-buried and almost invisible, yet the general lay-out of the mounds cannot have been affected to so great an extent as to make a plan of the place nearly useless in sixty years. Still, poor as it is, Taylor's plan of Shahrain is better than his plan of Ur (Fig. 75). Evidently he had no good means of measurement at his disposal, and worked largely by eye. On

the other hand, Mr. Thompson's plan, published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXX, p. 104, I found most accurate and useful (Fig. 157). I



157.—THOMPSON'S PLAN OF SHAHRAIN, 1918

(The added rectangle shews the area covered by the plan of the portion excavated by Hall, 1919: Fig. 176)

cannot do better than transcribe, with his permission, his description of Shahrain (*ibid.*):

'South-westwards from Nasiriyah towards the ruins of Ur cultivation extends for six miles over the flat lands which are partly liable to flood in the spring. From this point begins the desert, the way to Abu Shahrain lying past the great mound of Ur, two or three miles distant

from the nearest crops, and, scattered in this area, especially to the south-east, over a track of thirty-five miles, is a series of smaller mounds, the most notable to the south-east being Tell el-Lahm.

'From Ur the direction lies south-west for twelve miles, and the desert begins to slope upwards slightly and very gradually. It is a waste, part sand, part alluvial soil, whereon in spring blow irises in sparse clusters. Rarely one meets with patches of clay strewn with fresh-water mussels; elsewhere the desert is covered with countless little freshwater spirals.

'The mound of Abu Shahrain, roughly 1,100 yards in perimeter, rises abruptly from the levels. In plan it is rectangular, the corners towards the cardinal points, a usual method of orientation in Sumerian buildings, and we must postulate, therefore, the same method in vogue among its original founders. The general appearance from the desert is of a flat, low mass of brown earth, with steep sides rising to nearly forty feet, the crest appearing at the distance to maintain an almost unbroken level, except that at the north are the remains of a lofty *ziggurat*, now whittled down by the rains to a sharp peak, piercing the sky like a dagger some forty feet higher above the line even of the crest of the mound which forms a terrace to it. But on approaching the mound one sees the rough lumps of limestone or sandstone which still buttress its sides, part in their ancient place, part scattered about in disorder, especially near the *ziggurat*, while the surface is strewn with coarse plain pottery and burnt bricks fallen from the tower, but there are no coins or pieces of glazed Parthian pottery to indicate late occupation. The limestone walling of the exterior slopes, which Taylor was the first to excavate, is unusual in Babylonia. The mound has practically become a basin; the interior, for the most part, having consisted of buildings of unbaked brick, is melted into formless clay under the torrential rains which pour down during the winter. The temple-tower playing the part of a small mountain at the upper end, has conducted the rushing waters down its slopes, which have easily gnawed channels both in the mass of disintegrating brickwork of the houses on the mound, and in the windborne sand which settles in every corner and near every wall, and have found their way to the three gates, which mark the middle of the north-east, south-east and south-west faces of the mound. As one looks down from the top of the *ziggurat*, the whole of the ruins which lie to the south-east at one's feet consist of waterworn hummocks, ravines, drift-banks of sand against some ancient wall (this protected and so preserved), and, after rain, pools of water.

'The *ziggurat* rises in apparently two stages about eighty-four feet above the general level of the desert. Its core is of unburnt brick, now much exposed and consequently destroyed by the rains which have washed it down so that it has re-set in a mass below; its facing of burnt brick still remains in position in places, especially in the less exposed sides to the north-east and south-east. It was on this latter front that Taylor discovered the staircase which leads up the side; he describes it as "fifteen feet broad and seventy feet long, measuring along its inclined plane. The marble slabs that formed the steps were still plentifully scattered over it. . . . The *escaliers* were of brick (four feet broad), and all bear the usual Abu Shahrein inscription."

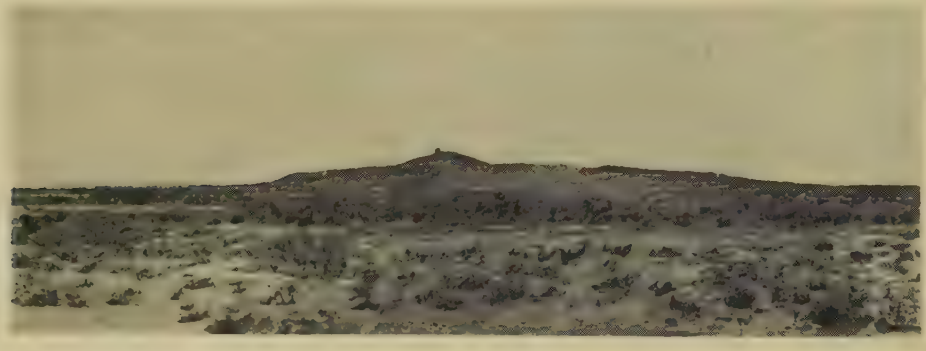
'From the *ziggurat* as far as the eye can see there is naught but awful solitude; you look down on sombre desert which encircles you for miles. Northwards lie the flat lands, yellow in April and unrelieved except for sparse arabesques of salt spreading like mares'-tails in a breezy sky, while afar, just visible as a little pimple in the mornings but blotted out in the afternoon haze, is the temple-tower of Muqaiyar. Towards the north-east, especially when the sun is setting, the sandstone ridge on the skyline is thrown into vivid relief as a white streak six miles away. Eastwards, not far from the mound, the grass has sprung up, marking the dry site of the winter lagoon which lies between you and the sandstone ridge; southwards towards Dafna and Qusair are the distant low sandstone hills circling round and completing the wide area to westward. Between you and the sunset is a broad green tract of scrub and coarse grass wherein lie

the wells two miles away. Not a tree is in sight, and the only fuel is that provided by the little dry bushes.'

Such was the place, illustrated by Figs. 158 to 161, alone out 'in the blue', where Taylor and Thompson had worked, and where I pro-

158.—SHAHRAIN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

posed to 'carry on'. All round the mounds, and more especially on the north-east and south-east sides, stretched out a flat space, about a hundred yards broad or more, which was covered with innumerable fragments of ancient painted pottery, shewing geometric or curved and floreated designs in black pigment on the greenish-drab surface



159.—SHAHRAIN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

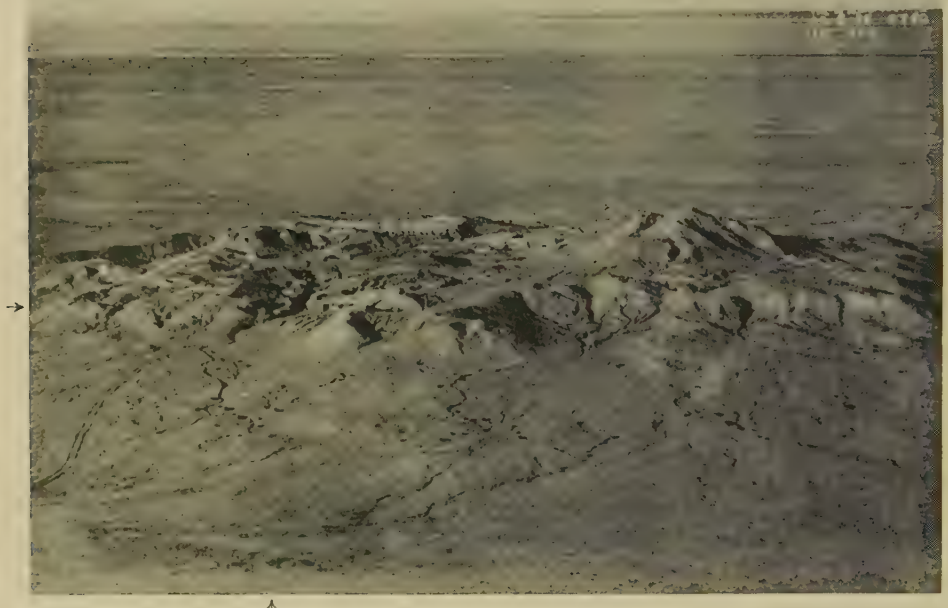
of the vase (Figs. 162–3). Sometimes the ware was soft, in which case the colour was brown or even reddish; at others it was almost vitrified, in which case the ware was green and the colour a vivid black. Obviously this ware was prehistoric. No such pottery is known from Mesopotamian excavations of the historic period. The art of painting

pottery was, but for a rare survival here and there, unknown in later Sumerian times, so far as we know, and all other discoveries of the same ware, as mine, and Woolley's later at al-'Ubaid, and Pézard's at Bandar Bushīr on the Persian coast of the Gulf, have confirmed this diagnosis. 'The same ware is characteristic of all three sites. It is usually hand-made, but shows signs of the incipient wheel—the 'slow-wheel' method.

160.—VERTICAL AIR VIEW OF SHAHRAIN

It is usually very fiercely fired, hard, almost vitrified: greenish-drab in colour, with designs in bright black. On less highly fired fragments, pale drab in colour (which are less common) the designs often appear in reddish, rarely in quite red, pigment. The chemical reason for the difference is explained by Mr. Woolley in Chapter VIII of *Al-'Ubaid*. The more highly vitrified the pottery, the blacker the pigment. The decoration, usually in vivid black, rarely (on softer pottery) reddish, is generally geo-

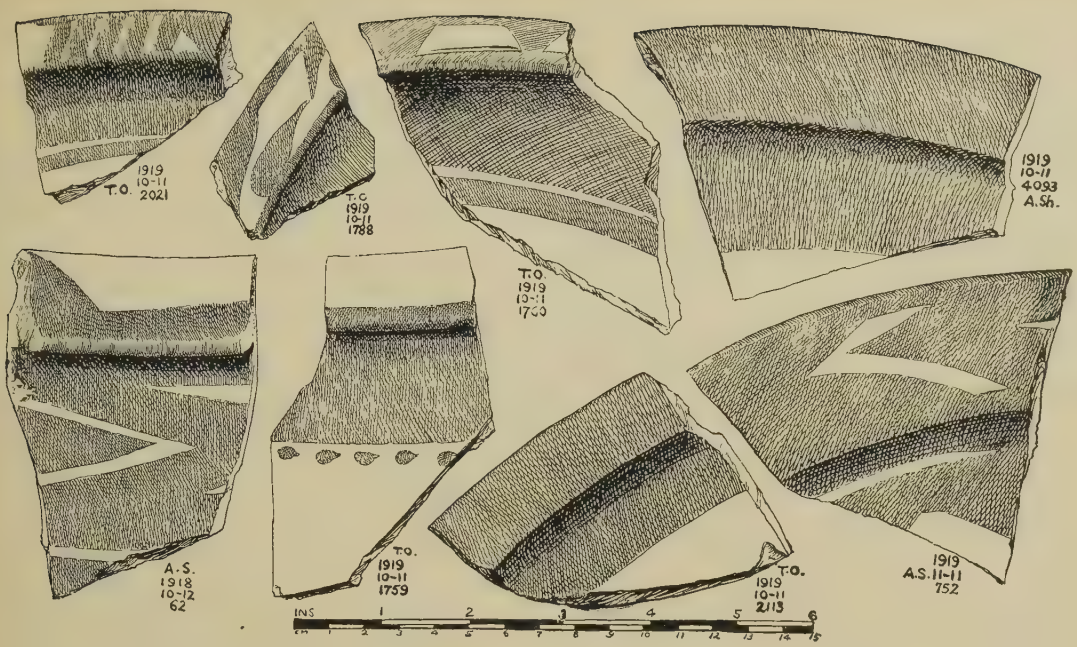
metric in character with occasional touches of naturalism in what seem to be representations of plant-forms, and with rarely pictured stylistic animal forms. The ware, as known from fragments found at Shahrain, has been well illustrated by Mr. Thompson: and now that Mr. Woolley has happily found complete pots in his new excavations of 1923–4 at al-'Ubaid, we are better instructed in the matter of the types.'[1] Mr. Thompson considers the people who made and used it to have been



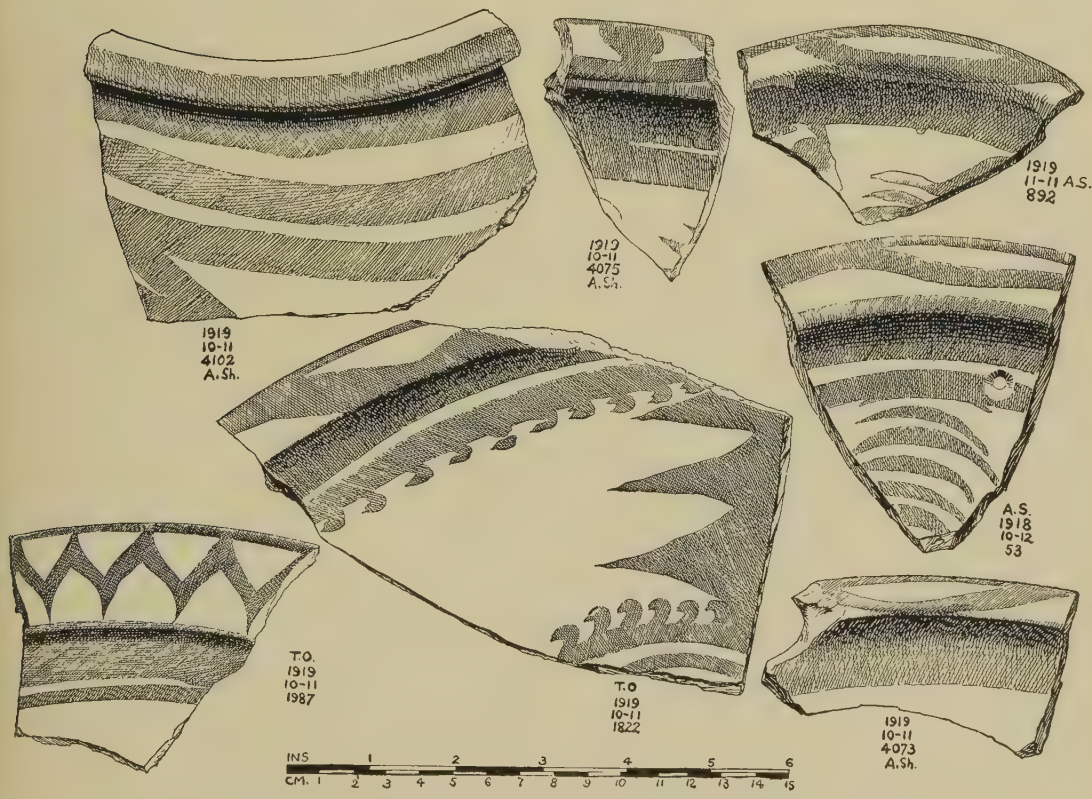
161.—AIR-VIEW OF SHAHRAIN FROM THE NORTH
(The arrow shews the site of the work of 1919)

Elamites, 'But the identity of the Shahrain-'Ubaid ware with that of Bandar Bushir, though it argues identity of race, does not prove that race to have been Elamite rather than Sumerian. The relationship of this painted ware with its geometric and (occasionally) naturalistic

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 9 (modified). The question of the relation of this early Babylonian and Elamite ware to the other well-known early Elamite wares found by de Morgan and his helpers at Susa and Tepē Musyān has recently been discussed in detail in a special monograph on the early pottery of South-east Asia (*R. Anthrop. Inst.*, occasional paper No. 6, 1924) by Henri Frankfort. Cf. V. S. Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, pp. 134 ff., 155 ff.



162.—PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY, ABU SHAHRAIN AND AL-'UBAID



163.—PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY, ABU SHAHRAIN AND AL-'UBAID

designs to that of Susa I proves no more than what we knew already, the close relationship of the Elamite and Sumerian cultures. And the general relationship of Shahrain-'Ubaid-Bandar Bushir not only with Susa but also with the early geometric pottery of Sāmárrā in northern Babylonia (Fig. 164), and similarly decorated wares found all over the Near East from Thessaly (or even possibly Bosnia) *viâ* Asia Minor to the kurgans of Turkestan, to Tuz and Muḥammadabad in Eastern Persia and to Nāl in Baluchistan, and even in China (Honan and

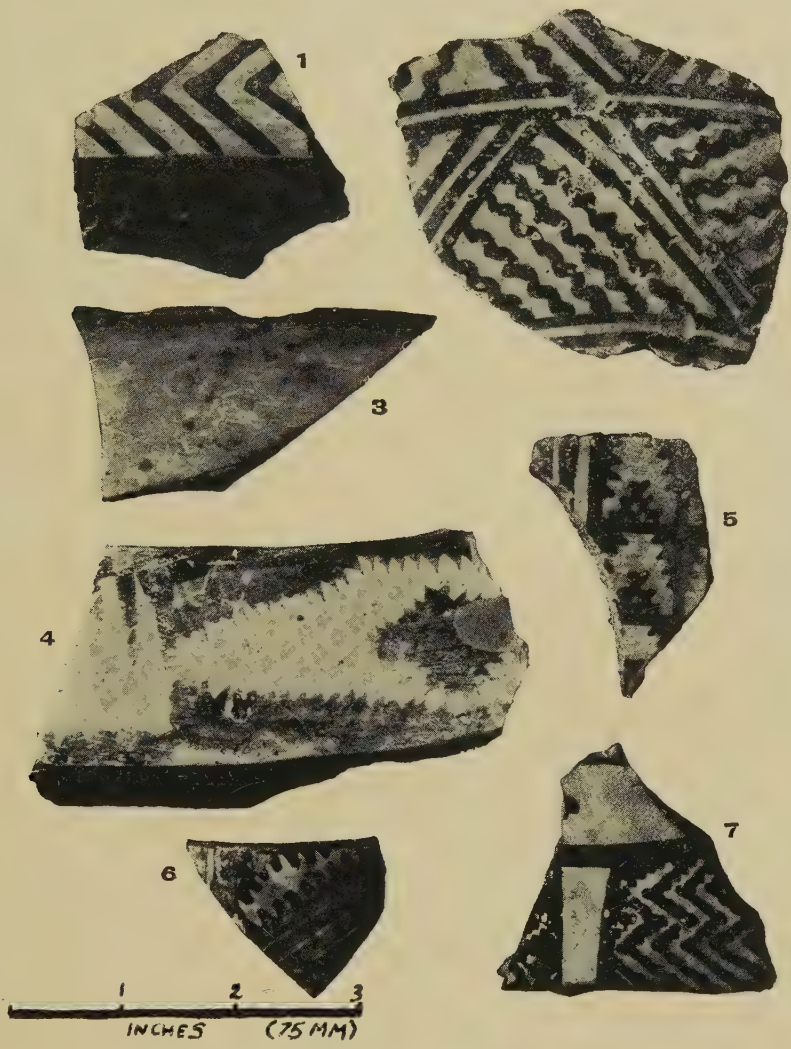
164.—EARLY PAINTED POTTERY, SĀMÁRRĀ (*J.R.A.S.*)

Fêngtien or Manchuria), proves only a certain community of culture over all these lands at the beginning of the Age of Metal'[1] (Figs. 165-6). We cannot, it seems to me, call this pottery anything but proto-Sumerian rather than pre-Sumerian.

The illustrations on pp. 197, 230 shew some of the types of pottery found by me at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid, which will supplement the illustra-

[1] *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 10. The resemblance of some of the Shahrain and 'Ubaid patterns to those of the late neolithic or chalcolithic pottery found by Prof. J. G. Andersson in China is extraordinary.

tions and descriptions given by Thompson in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXX, pp. 121–3, and by myself and Mr. Woolley in our book *al-'Ubaid*. This painted ware has a distinct charm of its own, with its sweeping decoration,



165.—PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY, SEISTAN

its curved lines and waves, its geometric patterns, its superimposed triangles, Maltese crosses, dotted circles, zigzags and cross-hatchings, its attempts at plant-forms, and sometimes (very rarely) animal forms:[1] the human form has

[1] As frogs and scorpions; also a porcupine in the round (Thompson, *Archaeologia*, lxx, p. 124).

not yet been found, though it occurs at Susa and Sāmárrā. An interesting point in regard to this pottery is a resemblance in form to early Egyptian shapes. Many of the pottery bowls were carinated (Fig. 167) having the same profiles as the characteristic Egyptian stone bowls of the IVth Dynasty, while others have a turned-back rim like that of the predynastic Egyptian stone and pottery bowls. In view of our knowledge of the date of this painted pottery, which must at latest be placed before 3500 B.C.,[1]

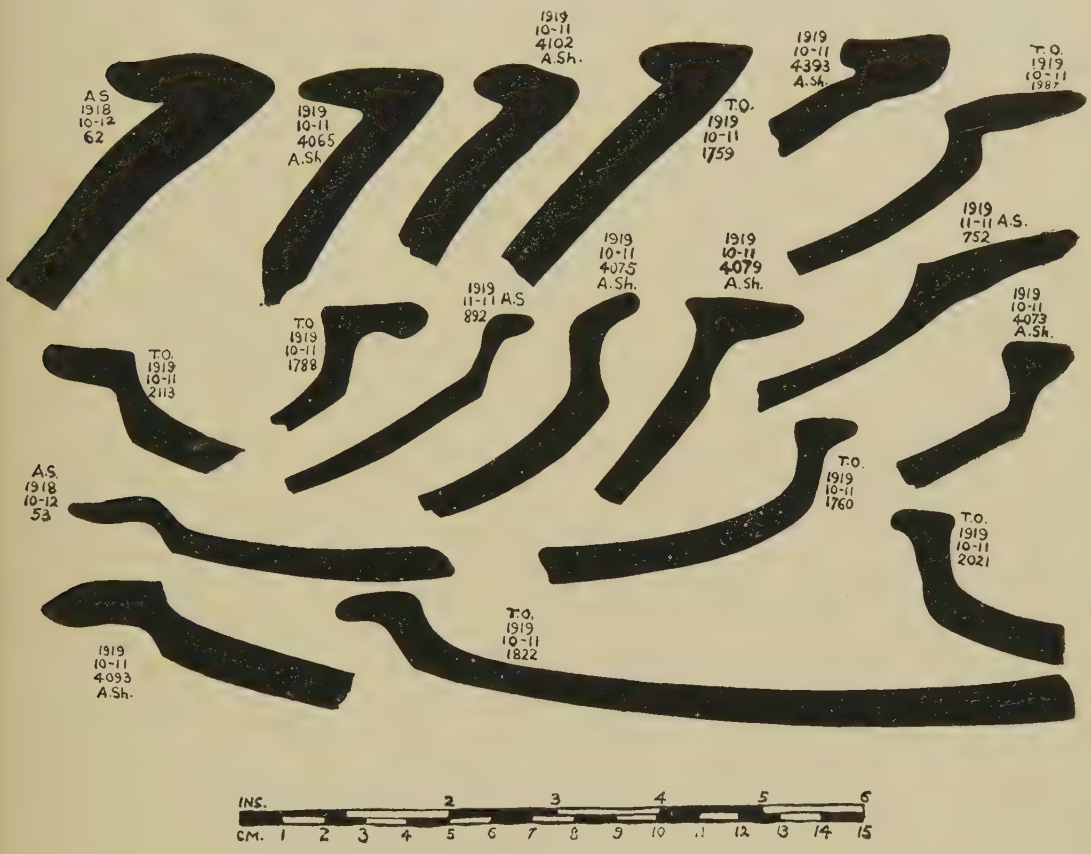
166.—1–17: GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ASIA (1–5, ANAU; 6–12, MUSYĀN; 13–14, KUYŪNJIK; 15–16, SAKTJEGŌZŪ; 17, KARA ŌYŪK). 18–33: GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM GREECE (18–21, SESKLO AND DIMINI I; 22–24, DIMINI II; 25–26, ZERELIA; 27–33, CHAIRONEIA)

it would seem more probable that we have in the carinated rim an Egyptian and a proto-Sumerian imitation of a metal form[2] belonging to some as yet

[1] The apparently ascertained priority of the painted pottery to the time of the Ist Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 3200–3000 B.C.), forbids me now to maintain the view of its possible later date which I had drawn from those Egyptian resemblances in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1922, p. 255 ff.

[2] There is no doubt that the carinated rim is unnatural both in stone and pottery and is a metal form. For a fine example of the Egyptian form in diorite, see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, Fig. 54. The type was imitated by the 'early Minoan' Cretans in liparite (Evans, *ibid.*, Fig. 55; Hall, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I, 1914, Pl. xvii, 4).

unknown metal-using culture that gives ideas to both civilizations, and in the likeness of the flat-rimmed bowls in both countries in prehistoric times a resemblance that may be ascribed to the influence on both of a stone form belonging to the unknown culture-centre rather than to direct connexion. The resemblance of the cylindrical alabaster vases of Egypt under the early dynasties (*c.* 3200–2800 B.C.) and Sumer, from the Ist



167.—CARINATED POT-PROFILES: SHAHRAIN AND AL-'UBAID

Dynasty of Ur to the Third (*c.* 3200–2300 B.C.) is so great, however, as to argue direct connexion.[1]

With this pottery on the flat surface outside the mounds were the curious pottery sickles and 'nails' with curved shanks and cones of the same ware, which Mr. Thompson has described, and which I also found at al-'Ubaid: these are usually unpainted, but sometimes have a band of black

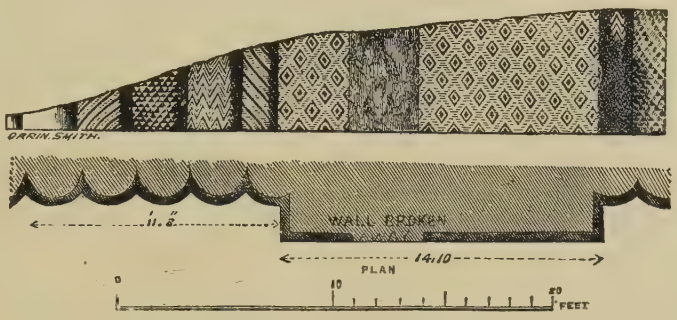
[1] *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1923, p. 190, *n.* 5.

paint on them (Fig. 168). The sickles are much commoner at Shahrain than at al-'Ubaid, as also are the flat round pottery 'loom-weights' or 'net-sinkers', with two holes. The sickles are of highly vitrified ware, and have a sharp edge which makes it probable that they were really intended for actual use in reaping, as Thompson thinks, rather than as merely votive imitations of wooden sickles with flint saw-teeth (such as are common at al-'Ubaid, but rare at Shahrain), which probably existed, though they have perished. Another suggestion I may make is that the flint saw-teeth were stuck on to the sickle-edge with bitumen, which would be quite a Sumerian procedure. Koldewey found some at Farah set in bitumen.[1] The curved nails are a problem, as we are very vague as to what they are intended for. It is said that in North-western India similar instruments are still used for picking up low-growing crops, which are then cut with the sickle. They will then be hooks used in conjunction with the sickle; this explanation gains probability from the fact that at Shahrain we often found them together: they certainly always are of the same date. Another suggestion is that they were rubbers, for grinding paint. The rubber would be taken between the thumb and the other fingers, the curved portion hooking round the thumb. The fact that two or three of these objects have been found at al-'Ubaid with the heads much worn lends some plausibility to this theory. The pottery cones would seem to be quite simply a form of mural decoration. The evidence of their use in this way, discovered by Loftus at Warka (Fig. 169),[2] is quite decisive on the point. An example of

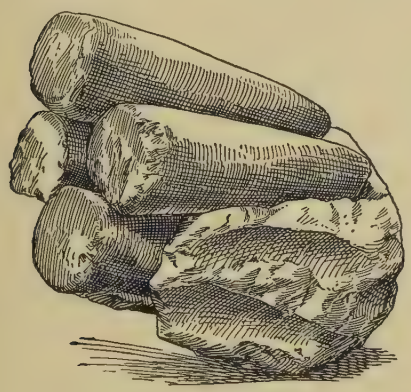
168.—POTTERY SICKLES, 'NAILS' AND CONES: SHAHRAIN, 1919

[1] *Excavations at Babylon* (Engl. Transl.), p. 261. See below, p. 232.
[2] Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 188.

them embedded in stucco, found by Loftus, is in the British Museum (Fig. 170). And now we have proof from Egypt that the very similar cones found there, and hitherto regarded as model funerary loaves, were in reality a form of tomb-decoration.[1] These Egyptian cones are, of course, much later (XIth and XVIIIth Dynasties; *c.* 2200 and *c.* 1450 B.C.), and are inscribed with the name of the owner of the tomb in which they are used. The Babylonian cones began to be inscribed about 2500 B.C. 'and became nail-headed, as we see them in the cones of Ur-Nammu stuck in his terrace-wall as a decoration just as Loftus found them used at Warka. The flower-cones of the Sumerian period found at al-'Ubaid (p. 249) were, I have no doubt, used in precisely the same way. The long cone form was used because it could be thrust deep into crude brick walls. What, however, are we to make of the little cones, some no bigger than lead-pencils, which are as common at Shahrain and al-'Ubaid as the big cones? Were they used as wall decorations too? It would seem so: probably they were used to make small patterns such as those we see in Loftus's illustration of his 'cone wall' (Fig. 169). Many of these sickles and cones were found in the condition of 'spoils' from the potter's hands, overfired and vitrified together; a mass of five or six sickle-failures was not unusual.



169.—ELEVATION AND PLAN OF THE TERRA-COTTA CONE WALL, WARKA

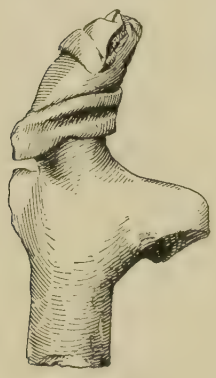


170.—CONES FROM WALL, WARKA: BRIT. MUS. (*al-'Ubaid*, FIG. 15)

Intermixed with these objects of pottery are fragments of alabaster

[1] N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, p. 45, pl. xxi (XVIIIth Dynasty); H. E. Winlock, *Bull. Met. Mus. N.Y.*, 1928, Sect. ii, pp. 6, 7; figs. 1, 4, 5 (XIth Dynasty).

vases, countless small fragments of decoration in stone, cones and plaques of red limestone, obsidian, lapis, and other stones, used for inlay; and small implements such as celts of jasper or jadeite, knife-flakes of obsidian and chert or flint, and of crystal, an occasional arrowhead, hammer-stones of trachyte, and so forth, which point to a time when stone was still used for such purposes (cf. Figs. 200 ff., from al-'Ubaid). Metal, however, is not absent in the shape of nails of copper, often with gold heads; we found one peg of solid gold and some bits of gold-foil; but no tools or weapons. The flakes of chert are of a type associated with the chalcolithic period rather than with the true age of stone, and it is probable that the makers of them were already acquainted with metal. It is very probable that objects of two different periods are mixed among the surface-finds, some really prehistoric, like the flints, the painted pottery, the sickles, &c., others of the earliest historic period, the age of the First Dynasty of Ur, such as the gold-headed copper nails, the alabaster fragments, and some of the cones. But it is impossible from the surface-finds alone to suppose any but a gradual and unbroken development from the prehistoric to the historic age. Two interesting surface-objects, the first probably prehistoric, the second of the First Dynasty or later(?) were found—the first, part of a bird-faced figurine of a man wearing a high cap, 2 inches high, in hard indurated yellow-drab ware; the second, a perforated plaque of smoky quartz, ¾ inch long, on which was part of an incised figure of a lion passant, the body cross-hatched, with above it a plant-sprig resembling those on Egyptian scarabs of the Hyksos period, but much older no doubt (Figs. 171, 172).



171.—POTTERY FIGURINE: NO. 115357 (*slightly enlarged*)

172. — PLAQUE WITH FIGURE OF A LION: NO. 115358 (*actual size*)

All these fragments of a forgotten civilization (which Mr. Thompson also found at various depths in his stratification-pits, besides much Sumerian pottery of the later date) lay around the perimeter of the mounds for the picking-up, and I and my men on this first reconnaissance reaped a goodly harvest of them to bring back to Ur, although Mr. Thompson had been before us. Taylor had

collected but a few as specimens. And the survey of the mounds themselves shewed that there was much to do. Mr. Thompson had pitted them very thoroughly in his search for documents of their stratification, as we see from his plan (Fig. 157). The scanty remains of buildings he had not excavated. We determined to begin on the remains of buildings at a spot in the little gorge that is seen in his plan debouching on to the plain in the middle of the north-east face of the mounds, corresponding to a similar opening on the south-west face. These were evidently gates on a *cardo* passing directly across the mounds. On the south-east face is a similar opening for a gate, from which a road must have passed northward intersecting the other in the centre of the mounds, and approaching the *ziggurrat*, which fills up the north-western region. The plan is almost Roman, and indeed the whole mound, with its square plan and two intersecting cardinal ways, is very Roman in appearance. The winds and the rains of four thousand years have covered the centre, where the ways intersected, with a confused mass of dunes, which we may hope one day to see excavated. My powers only reached to the excavation of some particular complex of buildings, and those at the north-east gate seemed the most easy to be dug in a short time. I also determined to do some further work round the bastion of stone and brick that Taylor had discovered and Thompson had described (*Archaeologia*, lxx, p. 117), near the south-east gate.

On this first reconnaissance we also took a hasty survey of the surrounding mounds, especially that called 'Sulēbiyah', about a mile away to the eastward, where lay the much weather-rounded, deformed, and broken trunk of a stone lion, with curious spiral markings on its surface, which Mr. Thompson has figured (*Archaeologia*, lxx, Fig. 12). It is probably identical with the lion found by Taylor at Shahrain, described by Mr. Thompson on his p. 138 as no longer there, and as having been removed about 1910 by the Sa'adun chief of the Muntafiq without success: probably the chief got it as far as Sulēbiyah and there dumped it. We thought of taking it back to Ur, but it was too heavy for any of our Fords to carry over such ground. A few poor graves of the late period, with fragments of pottery and beads not worth description, were found and dug by us on this occasion.

Then we returned to Ur. It was evident that it would be possible

and advisable to do some further work at Shahrain if we could, but before this could be undertaken, certain indispensable preliminaries would be necessary. In the first place I had to get permission to use Turkish prisoners out 'in the blue'. This was not contemplated originally, but I determined if possible to use them as a stiffening to the nomad Arab diggers (Badu') of the Dhafir tribe, whom I should have to use, as Thompson did. No Arabs of the Rīf or cultivated valley (Muntafiq) would go out into the desert to Shahrain, nor would the Badu' permit them to come there. Shahrain was in their territory, and they alone could dig it. But they probably would not object to a few Turks any more than to Europeans. So, as in Mr. Thompson's case, negotiations had to be begun with the Dhafir chief, Ḥamūd ibn Suwait, for his consent and for the hire of his tribesmen. These negotiations were undertaken, the military authorities having given permission for a few of the most responsible Turks to be employed at Shahrain, by Major Dickson, the Political Officer at Naṣirīyyah. Ḥamūd and his tribesmen had not yet come up from the south on their yearly migration northward in search of cooler weather and better pasture, but they were daily expected. On 9 April they had arrived, and on that day Major Dickson brought Ḥamūd and his sub-chief, Lezzām, whose men could be used, to Ur, and we had a great palaver. All was arranged: I was to pay Lezzām 600 rupees in silver (the Badu' would not look at paper money) for thirty of his men, and take twelve Turks besides the raïses to help them. The work was to last a fortnight, and was to begin as soon as I could get away from Ur. This was not immediately possible, since, three days before, al-'Ubaid had been discovered, and could not be abandoned at once. It was not till 21 April (Easter Monday) that we could close down al-'Ubaid temporarily, and move out for the fortnight at Shahrain.

The move took the whole day. My Ford cars were now increased to five by General Sutton on account of the necessity of having a regular daily shuttle-service (Fig. 173) to carry out the necessary fantasses (metal tanks) of water to Shahrain from the chlorinated supply at Ur Junction; the water-hole used by the Badu' near Shahrain contained a fluid undrinkable by me or the Turks. Several journeys were made by them on the day of the move with our impedimenta, my tent and the kitchen and tent for the Turks going first, and leaving me with only the 'Museum' tent to escape

to in the heat of the day, while I superintended operations from the Ur end and 'Amrān at Shahrain. The Turks marched on foot. Finally at sunset I left Ur, and arrived to find all arranged, tents pitched on the northern edge of the mounds (Fig. 174), near where Thompson had camped in the previous year, under the shadow of the ziggurrat, and our dinners cooking merrily. The air at Ur was pure and good enough, but the first night at Shahrain, really out in the desert, was delightful: the air was as superior to that of Ur as that of Margate or Cromer is to that of Hampstead, good as that is: the stars seemed to shine with a purer light even than at Ur. I was evidently going to enjoy this fortnight. But Shahrain had its drawbacks, as will appear.

173.—THE WATER-TRAIN OF FORDS

Next day Lezzām came to arrange details. He and his tribesmen were camped, in their black horsehair 'tents of Kedar' (Fig. 191), about two miles away to the westward, at the water-hole: they would come into work every morning. The following day they came and started work under the supervision of the raïses (Fig. 175). I soon found it advisable to give the Turks a piece of work to themselves, and not to mix them with the Badu'. We started on the houses, the Badu' taking the larger northern section, the Turks the southern. The work of the latter was soonest finished, and for the last few days I put them on to the further clearance of 'Taylor's Bastion'. Three of the keenest-eyed Turks I kept continually perambulating the neighbourhood of the mounds in search of

174.—MY TENT AT SHAHRAIN

small surface objects. One of them, the regular lynx of a man named Suliman Demīr (Solomon Iron), from Lazistan, on the south shore of the Black Sea east of Trebizond, had extraordinarily keen eyesight, and without him I should not have recovered quite a number of interesting little finds. The Badu' worked harder than the Muntafiq had at Ur, and needed less tuition from the raïses. Most of them had dug for Thompson, and he had taught them what was wanted.

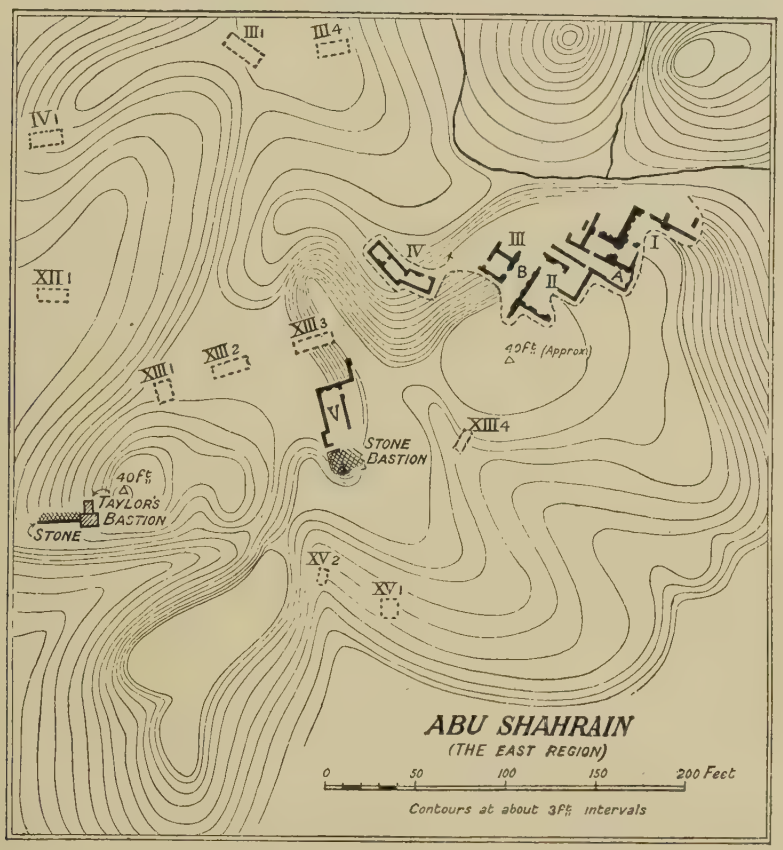
The fortnight's work at the north-east gate resulted in the partial clearance of four house-complexes, marked I-IV on the plan (Fig. 176).[1]

175.—DHAFIR DIGGING AT SHAHRAIN

There were two streets, A and B, one of them (A) being a blind alley (Figs. 177-8). The disposition of the rooms will be gathered from the plan. It was impossible for me to clear the whole of the houses I and II owing to the height of the mound, 30–40 feet, above their eastern portions. III and IV were wholly cleared, both by the Turks (Fig. 179). These houses were built on the slope of the little ravine that represented the ancient road to the gate. I selected them because they seemed high enough (about 10 feet) above the bottom of the ravine to save them from being overwhelmed after excavation by the winter rain-torrents (*sēls*) that, collecting on the higher

[1] By mistake, this plan has, in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1919, p. 189, where it was first published, been erroneously described as of the south-eastern, instead of the eastern, region of Eridu.

ground, rush downwards to find their way out through the three gate-outlets already mentioned; and have contributed more than anything else to the present chaotic appearance of the mounds. The wavy black line on the plan represents the path of these occasional torrents through the gates. The largest room (in II) was about 25 feet in length. The walls, often 6



176.—PLAN OF THE WORK OF 1919 AT SHAHRAIN

or 7 feet in height, were of crude brick, laid usually in alternate leaders and stretchers, covered with a hard stucco, scratched and lined probably to hold the paint. These scratchings were sometimes in the form of rays or rudely-drawn animals (Fig. 180; see p. 228). The bricks (No. 114209) were of the plano-convex type, measuring, on the average, 10 by $6\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches. They generally had a groove down the middle of the convex side. These walls were often panelled, crenellated, or niched in the usual Babyl-

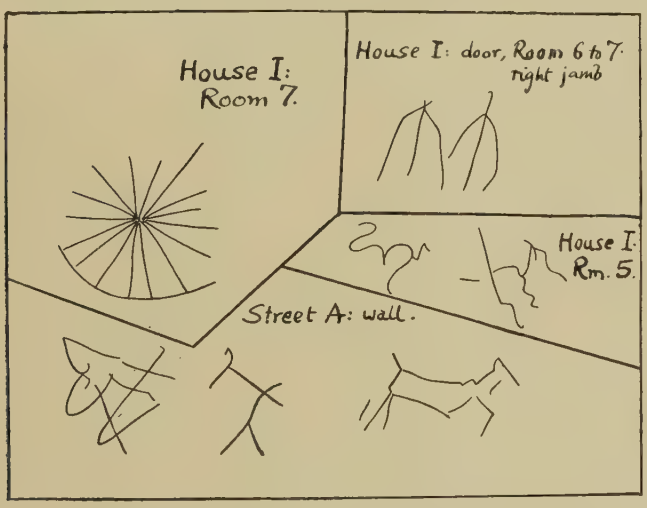
onian manner, often elaborately so, with several 'steps', as may be seen from the plan. On one niche, on the east side of the wall between rooms *b* and *e* of House I, the original painting was perfect in horizontal stripes of alternately 15 red and 14 white, respectively 3 and 1½ inches broad: the lowest stripe red (Fig. 181). I endeavoured to protect this by means of a wooden penthouse and door, but I hear from recent visitors that it has not survived the depredations of the Badu', to whom wood is a scarce and valuable commodity. This striping seems to have been the usual decoration of early Babylonian houses. The lintels and thresholds of several of the doors were similarly decorated. A door in House IV had projecting lintels, and another in House IV similar lintels built on afterwards, which were painted in red and white stripes in this way, each 3 inches broad: the rest of the wall was not painted. In one house the stucco bore the impression of reeds: a wainscoting. House III was a small isolated square building on the west side of street B; House IV, further west, immediately beneath a steep sand slope, which shewed by its curved form the carving-out by the *sēls*, was a long house of a curious broken-backed

177.—STREET 'A'

178.—STREET 'B': ZIGGURRAT BEYOND

form, half of it being set at a sharp angle to the other half: its three rooms were continuous (Fig. 182). In this house was found a curious architectural fragment of bluish limestone: a slab, broken in two pieces, 2 feet 7 inches long by 1 foot 2½ inches broad by 1 foot 2 inches high, with a chamfered edge along the upper side, in which were hollowed out three circular holes (only one complete in the centre, 6 inches in diameter) rounded at the bottom (see Fig. 183). These holes were intended for inlay plaques of some other stone, and there is no doubt that this was either the lintel or the architrave of a door. A similar fragment, broken along its length centrally, lies on the top of the dune above, measuring 3 feet 10 inches

179.—TURKS EXCAVATING HOUSE III



180.—SCRATCHED GRAFFITI ON HOUSE-WALLS, SHAHRAIN

by 1 foot 3 inches high by 1 foot broad, with three holes, each 4 inches in diameter. The doors generally measured about 2 feet 6 inches

181.—PAINTED NICHE IN HOUSE I

across. One door in IV had a step 8 inches high and 7 inches wide. Both streets and all the houses had hard mud floors.

The blind alley, 'A' Street, broadened out at its end to 8 feet 6 inches wide from its width of 5 feet 9 inches at the entrance to House II. The wall at its end had a simple recessed panel in the centre. Beneath the hard mud floor of the alley in front of this wall was a rough mass of bitumen in which were imbedded a number of small plano-convex bricks, of the primitive type, evidently the remains of a previous wall-filling. A find in House II enabled me to fix the lowest possible date for these buildings. About a foot above the top of the ruined wall we came across a pavement of rectangular burnt bricks of Bur-Sin I, of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2200 B.C.), a king who built a good deal at Shahrain, and to whom the existing brick-facing of the ziggurrat is due. This pavement was laid over the house, which must have been broken down and filled up, either pur-

182.—HOUSE IV

posely or by natural ruin and blowing in of sand, before the time of Bur-Sin, about 2200 B.C. We may therefore date these houses at latest to the Gudea period, *c.* 2400 B.C. Probably they are not much older, on account of their use of rectangular bricks. The plano-convex bricks found in A Street will be of the older Sumerian age, before 2600 B.C.

Only one object of great interest and importance was found in these houses, and that was in connexion with this pavement, and is datable by its means. In the rubbish but not in the floor of the house, immediately beneath the Bur-Sin pavement, was found a lump of opaque blue vitreous paste, which I recognized as true glass. I am confirmed in this opinion by the specialist authority of Mr. H. C. Beck, F.S.A. Now this piece of glass, which must be at least as early as 2200 B.C., and is probably older, is the most ancient specimen of true glass known, so far as I am aware, being possibly older than any actual glass from Egypt, though of course nothing like so old as blue glaze there, which was known in predynastic times (before 3200 B.C.), or in Mesopotamia where the oldest examples of glaze yet known are beads from early strata at Kish.[1] Next comes a fragment of glazed pottery of the Larsa period (*c.* 2100 B.C.), found by Mr. Woolley at Ur. There is, of course, nothing to shew that this isolated fragment of glass was made at Eridu, or in Mesopotamia at all: it might be an importation from Egypt. The claim of predynastic Egypt to have invented glaze is good; and if she invented glaze she probably invented glass too. This piece of glass may merely shew that

183.—KHALĪL IN HOUSE IV: STONE ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT IN FOREGROUND

[1] E. Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and 'A' Cemetery, Kish;* p. 184.

the invention had reached Babylonia at least as early as 2200 B.C., though it certainly was rarely used there, or we should have found examples of its use as inlay, &c., on other sites of that period. Another interesting find was two specimens of the ruddle (red paint in a vehicle of salty clay) used in painting the walls: found on the floor of House II.

The other objects found in these houses were rough pots of Sumerian unpainted drab ware, fragments of stone vases (of granite, coloured limestones, and bluish calcite), pottery cones for wall-decoration of the kind found on the surface outside the mounds and certainly used for wall-decoration, as Loftus shewed at Warka; spindle-whorls of pottery, a red jasper ovoid plano-convex seal with a rude figure of an animal, a cup or pourer of pink jasper with lip depressed at the narrow end (Fig. 184), and occasional scraps of gold-foil and copper nails with heads overlaid with gold, such as were also found on the surface outside.

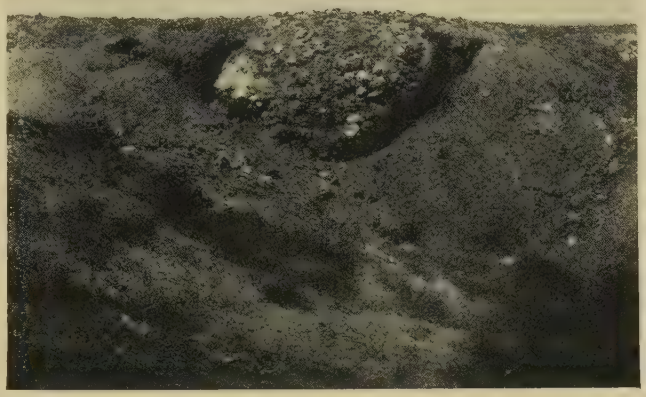
184. — JASPER SEAL (115470) AND POURER (115469), SHAHRAIN (SCALE ½)

House V lay south of IV, on the side of the high knife-like dune between them. It was aligned with and immediately behind a stone bastion, also found by us. As excavated it consisted of one room or court, 25 feet by 12 feet. The remarkable thing about it is that it contained two windows, the lower part of which, with their ledges, are visible side by side in the wall at its north-west end, furthest from the bastion. They are each about 3 feet wide. Evidence of windows in Babylonian architecture is always interesting.

The stone 'bastion', not marked in Mr. Thompson's plan (Fig. 157) but in my plan of the north-east region (Fig. 176), was found on the north side of a subsidiary 'ravine' running out into the plain, north-east of the south-east gate, near Mr. Thompson's pits XV, 1 and 2. It is a heaped-up erection of formless lumps of a rough gypsum rock (identified as such by Mr. W. Campbell Smith, of the British Museum, Natural History). These are often 3 or 4 feet across, piled up in a chaotic mass that on a small scale recalls (from a distance) the walls of Tiryns. This 'bastion' (probably simply part of the wall) measures, so far as it could be cleared in the time, about 20 feet long by 15 wide, but it probably

extends considerably further north-east; only the south-west end could be cleared. It is 20 feet high (Fig. 185).

'Taylor's Bastion' or 'Buttress' (Fig. 186), already mentioned, about 50 yards to the south-west, which commanded the south-east gate from the north, has been described as follows by Mr. Thompson: 'It is composed of red burnt plano-convex brick, which is amongst the earliest Sumerian building-work in burnt brick as yet known, stuck together with thick layers of bitumen as mortar, and the whole mass set on sand. A later addition had been made to it, prolonging it to the south-east, going much deeper, and acting as an additional buttress: this was a projection made of a different class of brick, yellow-baked, set with sand, and measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, a usual later Sumerian size.' These bricks, and the later building, date no doubt from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur to that of the First Dynasty of Babylon. I found the same type, with the name of Shulgi, at al-'Ubaid. In a further clearance at Taylor's Bastion I found some (p. 107) with the impressed mark of two crescents)(back to back



185.—'STONE BASTION,' ERIDU: EXCAVATED 1919

186.—DAŪD RAMAZĀN ON 'TAYLOR'S BASTION'

(Fig. 187), also found by Taylor and Thompson at Ur, where Woolley has shewn that they belong to the time of Sinidinnam, king of Larsa. The design of the two crescents may, I would suggest, be the origin of the name *Abu Shahrain* ('Father of Two Crescents', 'Moons', or 'Months'), unless, as is possible, the name refers to the crescent-shaped pottery sickles commonly found on the site. Or it may simply refer to the old Moon-cult of Ur. The variant *Abu Shuhur* ('Father of Moons' or 'Crescents') occurs.

Whether this early and late Sumerian brickwork is really a fortification is of course uncertain. At any rate it is on the line of the stone wall, built of the same blocks as the 'Stone Bastion', which runs from it towards the South-East Gate (Fig. 275). The stone wall of Eridu is unique (though stone foundations are known, as at al-'Ubaid, p. 238); for stone is a rarity in Babylonia. There is a deposit of this gypsum rock not many miles away, so it could conveniently be used. The location of the quarry was indicated to me when at Shahrain, but I had no time to go to see it. It has since been visited by Mr. Woolley.

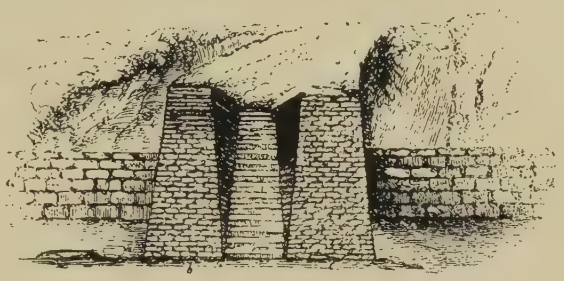
187.—BRICKS WITH DOUBLE CRESCENT MARK: 'TAYLOR'S BASTION', SHAHRAIN, 1919 (114211, 114212)

There is a good deal of stone lying about at Shahrain which came from farther afield than the rough local blocks of which the walls are built: on the mound above the houses I excavated still lies a great fragment of a prismatic block of basalt of the same kind as those of the Giant's Causeway (Fig. 188), which must have been brought from a volcanic region such as that of Diarbekr or from somewhere in central Arabia, and granite fragments that may have come from Māgan (Omān or perhaps even Sinai or the western desert of Egypt?), from which the inscriptions say fine stone was procured. Microscopic examination of fragments of them might reveal something as to their original home. They were brought for the purposes of sculpture and architectonic ornament by the early kings by sea and river from

Māgan and other distant lands, and the subject of this early voyaging in search of the hard stone so valuable in Mesopotamia, which had none, is of intense interest. Everywhere, too, at Shahrain are found fragments of vases of aragonite, which may well have come from the western Egyptian

188.—BASALT AND OTHER STONE BLOCKS AT SHAHRAIN

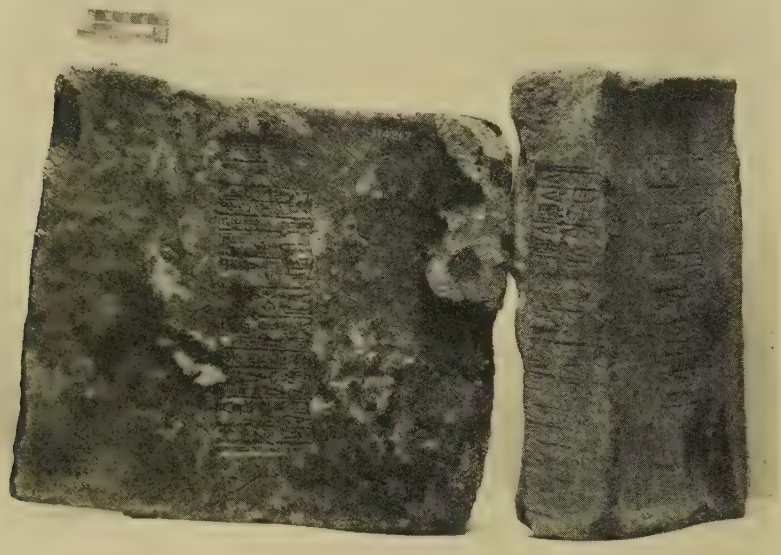
desert, and in view of the resemblance of some of their forms to the Egyptian, notably the cylindrical types (now well-known from Ur), which look as if there were a direct connexion between Egypt and Babylonia at the time of the Old Kingdom (*c.* 3200–2400 B.C.), very probably they did (see p. 201). Such a quantity of small plaques for inlay, of red and black stone, gypsum, alabaster, &c., is found, with so many small copper nails plated with gold, that it has been supposed that the topmost chamber of the ziggurrat was perhaps decorated in this way.



189.—TAYLOR'S SKETCH OF THE ZIGGURRAT STAIRWAY: 1855

The stone staircase of the ziggurrat is not now so clearly to be seen as it was in Taylor's time (Fig. 189). In fact hardly anything of the stone can be seen. But, it only needs re-clearing. I had, however, no time to do any work on the ziggurrat, and contented myself with selecting a few inscribed bricks of Bur-Sin's facing (Fig. 190) and

other bricks found scattered on the mounds, for the British Museum. The usual text of these bricks was as follows: 'Bur-Sin, proclaimed by Enlil in Nippur, Supporter of the Temple of Enlil, the powerful king, the king of Ur, the king of the Four Regions, unto Enki, his beloved king, hath built his beloved Apsū ("Ocean")'. Mr. Thompson also identified bricks of Ur-Nammu and of Nur-Immer, a later king of Larsa (*c.* 2000 B.C.).[1] The *Apsū* to which Bur-Sin refers (which has the



190.—BRICKS OF BUR-SIN (114216, 114217): ZIGGURRAT OF ERIDU (SHAHRAIN, 1919)

honour, according to some, of being the origin of the Greek ἄβυσσος and so of our 'abyss') was the primeval waters beneath the earth, the origin of freshwater springs, wells, and rivers, a mythical 'ocean' (probably a hidden spring (?) of fresh water that perhaps had something to do with the freshwater lake in the midst of which Eridu probably stood), thought to lie beneath the ziggurrat of Shahrain, which took the name from it.

With the exception of a fragment of white calcite macehead with remains of two or three early cuneiform characters on it, found by Mr. Thompson,[2] these are the only inscriptions from Shahrain. Neither

[1] Thompson, *Archaeologia, loc. cit.*, 108.

[2] *Archaeologia, loc. cit.*, Figs. 4, 13 (B.M., No. 115356).

Taylor, Thompson, nor I found a single inscribed clay tablet or fragment of one there. It may be that the temple library remains hidden somewhere, yet to be found; but in all other excavations stray tablets have been found in plenty. Here there is nothing yet, early or late.

There is also nothing of later date than the time of Nur-Immer, in the main mounds. I here absolutely confirm what Thompson says.[1] Really late things such as coins and fragments of 'Arab' glass bangles are only found on the peripheral mounds outside, which may represent the classical Teredon, the identification of which with Eridu Thompson seems inclined to credit.[2] All later objects from Shahrain came from the surrounding mounds, the Sulēbiyah to the south and others to the north and west. There are graves of later periods, as at Ur. Was the ancient Eridu, the *ziggurrat*, temple, and Sumerian town, uninhabited after the end of the third millennium B.C., save by a few priests and acolytes? Did it survive merely as a sort of Babylonian 'cathedral close', with perhaps a later town, not yet discovered, near by, to which the later burials belong? Was this as yet hypothetical Eridu the town to which later records refer as existing and inhabited? Or is Eridu mentioned later merely on account of its holiness and ancient state? Was it never in later times much more than a shrine to which people were brought to be buried as dead Shiahs are now carried for burial to Najaf and Kerbelā? This is one of the *quaestiones Teredonicae* (if the classical Teredon is Eridu)[3] that remains to be solved. One thing is clear, that, as Thompson says, Eridu can hardly have stood on the actual shore of the Persian Gulf, however far inland the sea may have come in early days. Not only does the ancient aquatic fauna of the place, of which we find the remains, shew this, but geological considerations also make it improbable. In early times Eridu may have been situated at the end of a winding backwater of the gulf (very like that which at the present time runs behind Baṣrah in the direction of Shaiba), into which fell a branch of the Euphrates, or a canal leading from the Euphrates near Ur. In the brackish liquid of such a 'back' freshwater shellfish could live. Shahrain actually looks as if it had stood in the centre of a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 110. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[3] This, however, seems improbable, as Teredon more probably stood much nearer to the Persian Gulf, even nearer than Baṣrah does now (see Sir Arnold Wilson's *Persian Gulf*, pp. 33, 41, 64).

marshy lake (connected in some way with the freshwater 'Apsū' of Eridu?), out of which it rose an island like Ely in the fens: a lake like the modern Hammar on a very small scale, perhaps originally at the end of the back-water, and connected with the Euphrates either directly or by canals and so with the sea: for Eridu, though it never stood on what *we* call 'the sea', was in very early days undoubtedly a seaport. This lake, we may suppose, gradually dried up as its canals ceased to be used, and Eridu was finally abandoned to the desert.

Shahrain is a site of extraordinary importance for the study of the early stage of civilization in Mesopotamia. But as a subject for excavation it is a very different 'proposition' from Ur. Instead of being close to the railway and the comparative civilization of Ur Junction and Naṣirīyyah, with the result that transport, food, and water are easily obtainable, it lies twelve miles or more away from Urin a waterless desert. The Beduin water-hole not far off being useless to any but desert Arabs, I had to bring for my small number of men every drop of drinking-water from Ur in fantasses carried by a daily train of three or four Ford cars, which had to negotiate deep sand and rough desert scrub growing often in a regular thick thatch, over which the Fords had to climb and go, with constant detriment even to *their* internal economy. Instead of the ordinary sandy earth of Ur, Shahrain presents the problem of torrents of fine shifting sand, a despair to the excavator. Yet it is a most interesting site, and it is to be hoped that some day it will be completely excavated, in spite of the great expense that will necessarily be involved. For one thing, in order to excavate it properly it will probably be necessary to build a light railway from Ur Junction, to be worked by locomotives, that will ensure the supply of water and obviate the use of cars, which in such a country are always breaking down, and of which, for the large number of men necessary for such a dig, many more than three or four would be necessary. With a light railway Shahrain could be excavated and its mysteries, which are many, unveiled.

The work at Shahrain was extremely interesting, and the life out 'in the blue' exhilarating in spite of the heat, and not without a spice of danger absent at well-protected Ur. This danger was not so much from the Dhafir, whose chief Lezzām could be trusted to 'play the game' by his paymasters, as from roving bands of the Shammar of Ibn Rashīd, the not

then completely defeated rival of Ibn Sa'ūd of Nejd, who were reported in the vicinity, and were none too friendly to the Dhafir. Our relations with Lezzām, and his over-chief, were friendly enough. He was encamped two or three miles off to the westward by a water-hole (Fig. 191), and a few of his black tents were established close up to lee of the mounds.

191.—SHAIKH LEZZĀM, HIS SLŪQIS AND HIS TENTS

On the second day after our arrival we were invited to a great feast at his tent in the middle of the day. The Ford lurched and rolled over the desert with imminent danger to its springs, till we arrived at his camp, to be greeted with many salaams by the chief, his adult male relations, and his small son and heir, aged two, who, gaily bedizened with a feathered cap and earrings, but extremely dirty, was carried in the arms of a dumb and half-witted male nurse. The chief was accompanied by his hereditary coffee-maker, his falconer with hooded kestrel, and his kennel-man (as I should, I suppose, describe him), with a couple of lanky and delicate slūqi hounds. In the background were one or two mounted camel-men and the usual crowd of poor relations, retainers and hangers-on, in front of the black tents (Fig. 192). I duly admired the slūqis and even the baby,

192.—THE WELCOME AT THE TENTS

finding that no idea of the evil eye seemingly made it etiquette for me not to do so; and photographed the crowd, especially the baby with papa and nurse (mamma, of course, did not appear), with great *éclat* and no objection whatever, rather the reverse, however unorthodox such image-making may have appeared. And then, after more ceremonies of politeness, hands to forehead and breast and many 'ana memnūn's' and so forth, I was invited to come ben.

In the great camel's-hair tent the feast was spread; in a huge dish or cauldron of tinned copper several feet across was an immense mess of cooked lamb and rice, around which we sat, I on the chief's right, 'Amrān, rather nervous and anxious that I should behave properly, on his left, while several of his friends and relations (all male, of course) sat on either side of us, the poorest and of least account furthest away. After a preliminary *Bismillah*! 'in the name of God!' as grace, we all dipped into the hot greasy mess together, using our right hands only in the accepted manner, and according to the polite ritual the chief picked out the tit-bits for me himself. We said little: we ate. It was an enormous meal. When we had eaten what I could and what they did, the *ibrīks* of water were brought to cleanse our hands, and then the dreadful brew of strong black stewed tea, thick as pea-soup and sugared sweet as honey, which the Arabs of 'Iraq love, but is unknown in Egypt, was served to quench (?) our thirst. This common use of tea must be a recent introduction from India: the tea is distinctly Indian in flavour and strength. Then I produced my contribution to the feast, which, I was assured, would delight Lezzām more than anything: fizzy-water from the works of the obliging military at Naṣirīyyah. It was an enormous success. Each successive pop and fizzle was greeted with rapturous invocations of the Deity by the poor relations, who, however, were not likely to taste the soda-water, which Lezzām regarded as a princely perquisite. Then came hot stewed apricots (*mishmish*), and after that the chief's hereditary coffee-maker (an important official) who had been at work in the background, came forward with his long-beaked coffee-pots of grimy brass and copper, with their black bitter brew, hot and black as Erebus, bitter as quinine; for no sugar may sweeten the coffee of the desert Arab, sweet though his tea is. Nor may any cleansing operations touch the coffee-pots, which have in them the sediment, the dottels, so to speak, of many previous brews, which no doubt act as a sort of stock and contribute to

the thickness and strength of the drink. Three small cups it is the etiquette to drink, no more. To demand more is bad manners. Then we stretched ourselves back on the divans, and the company signified their content with the good cheer in the usual stomachic manner, which need not be particularized. Tobacco then appeared in the shape of cigarettes. There were no narghiles, kalyāns, or hubble-bubbles as might have been in Egypt or in India: the desert Arab smokes cigarettes, preferably of the crude funnel-shaped variety peculiar to the bazaars of 'Iraq, which I have already mentioned. But the made cigarette, especially the American 'gasper' or its Japanese imitation, is also acceptable, and I was regaled with them (though I dislike 'fags' almost as much as the native variety) until I produced my own Burmese cheroots (though it was perhaps hardly correct for me to do so as guest), of which Lezzām (equally incorrectly) partook with pleasure. The poor relations on the other side of the big dish had also lit up cigarettes (not cheroots) with much courteous lifting of the fingers to head and breast, while the hangers-on and bottle-washers of the tribe crowded around the coffee-makers at the door of the tent and looked on respectfully. And judging by various sounds from behind the big black camel's-hair cloth that screened off the innermost of the great tent, the ladies of the harīm were not entirely without a view of their lords and masters feasting, though not so openly as their British cousins in the gallery at a City dinner. Then the great dish with its greasy remains was bodily removed by four men, for the hangers-on to feast on what was left, and we, the great ones, conversed politely while the poor relations listened, occasionally putting in a 'Wah!' or a 'Wallah!' in which the coffee-men joined, to shew their interest (Fig. 193).

193.—LEZZĀM'S FEAST

However, such feasts have often been described; and this differed

nowise from all the others that have been partaken of by every traveller in these parts who has been outside the realm of hotels and dragomans. And our conversation after it was of no more moment than any other of the kind. It was chiefly about railways, motor-cars (of the usual 'whizz-whizz, all by steam: whirr-whirr, all by wheels' kind that the Pasha of Belgrade first introduced for the benefit of Kinglake and his readers), politics and rupees, mostly the latter. The subject of Ibn Rashīd was dismissed with diplomatic grunts on Lezzām's part, as also were Lezzām's gentle hints that he was doing us very cheaply and that a few more rupees would be acceptable (a subject unavoidable even in the best regulated Arab household) dismissed in a sphinxlike manner by me. Then I arose, and 'after compliments' and promises to send him more soda-water, and a final 'group' to include the guest, taken by 'Amrān (Fig. 194), we left, and in the blazing heat bumped and lurched back to Shahrain to sleep the sleep, if not of the just, at any rate of the replete. And no doubt Lezzām and his men did likewise.

194.—THE FAREWELL 'GROUP'

Only once had I reason to be uncertain of the Badu', and then, 'acting on information received', I committed the solecism of summoning the military from Naṣirīyyah to protect me, as has already been recounted, instead of pulling up my stakes and trundling back pell-mell into Naṣirīyyah as, according to Cocker, I ought to have done. Bravely my Fords swept up to Shahrain that sunset, conveying not fantasses of water this time, but uncomfortable piles of sad-looking Indian infantry, cuddling their rifles and kit-bags, who detrained to the great admiration of the Lezzāmites and relief of 'Amrān and the Turks, not to speak of myself. Whether anybody of Lezzām's entourage had meditated robbery under arms, led away by the irresistible lure of rupees (supposed to be kept in a box in my tent) or not, I never was certain; but the information had been circumstantial, and the reinforcement

was timely. Had any such sinister designs existed, the proof that I could thus summon soldiers out into the void to protect me was sufficient to nip them in the bud. I have no doubt that the Badu' knew, which I did not, that soldiery were not permitted to be sent outside the 'protected area', and so the budmashes among them, if there were any, were probably considerably surprised at my power. I did not tell Lezzām about the wigging that I got afterwards. The sepoys went back next day looking sadder than ever, and I went on with my work. And two or three days afterwards Ḥamūd himself turned up (moved thereto, I doubt not, by my good friends the Politicals), ostensibly to see the progress of the work, in which he had taken active part with Thompson the year before, but also to speak with Lezzām, who probably got his wigging too. The subject of rupees was henceforth taboo, and all went merrily till our departure.

Life at Shahrain was not very comfortable. It was very sandy, very gritty, very windy, very thirsty, and very hot. Occasionally a little warm rain fell from an overcast sky, but generally the weather was cloudless and in the middle of the day almost unbearably hot, especially during the last week (May 1–8). The early mornings were delightful, in the exhilarating desert breeze. I was awakened every day to the continuous shrilling of millions of cicadas in the sage-brush of the surrounding steppe: an incredible noise, thin but penetrating, and ceaseless till the heat began to be felt and even the cicadas took their siesta. We got to work by 6 a.m. The same steady heat arose and smote us as early as eight o'clock: by ten it was impossible to work further, and we fled to the tents for refuge from the sun till four o'clock in the afternoon, when we could go on again till seven. That supposed 'siesta' at Shahrain between ten and four—six hours of it, compulsory—was a nightmare, at any rate to me, as I am no day-sleeper, and indeed cannot 'siest' in Egypt, Italy, or anywhere else. The curious faculty of sleeping in the full glare of arc-lights in a railway-station for instance, which most Central Europeans possess from use and wont of going on railway journeys at all hours of the night, is as unknown to me as it is, I think, to many others of my countryfolk. And at Shahrain the impossibility of excluding the rays of Shamash, that smote fiercely through my tent-wall, made those six hours a wakeful penance of heat, glare, sweat, grit, and—flies. Where the flies came from heaven only knows. But

they were there when we arrived. They did not accompany us or the Arabs. They had risen in armies to meet us before when we had reconnoitred the mounds. And now they feasted upon us, and upon our gritty, sandy food, which all my Portuguese fidalgo's art could not keep clean at Shahrain. On what they had lived before our arrival I know not. Presumably on other flies: taking in one another's washing, so to speak.

I went nowhere else further afield when at Shahrain. I was alone except for 'Amrān to look after the work, and I could better spare him than myself. So when invited by Lezzām to ride westward to inspect the ruin of al-Quṣair, further out in the desert, I sent 'Amrān instead to report and

195.—LEZZĀM AND 'AMRĀN AT AL-QUṢAIR

take photographs. He returned, full of adventure. On arrival at the ruins, which were evidently of 'Roman' (Parthian) date, consisting of a mass of late brickwork with two obviously 'Roman' round bastions, he and Lezzām found it tenanted by some very wild Badu', not of the Dhafir, and probably Shammar, who cried 'Out and alack', and 'Shame to him, for he must be of the *Mushrēkin*, and no true Muslim', when he essayed to photograph the qaṣr and pointed the little black box at it and at them. Indeed, they would have taken stones to him or worse, as little better than a kafir or infidel, had it not been for Lezzām, of whom they stood in some grudging awe. But they argued bitterly among themselves that things had come to a pretty pass indeed when a heretic from Hillah should come out into the desert thus and use the arts of the Giaour: it was the next

thing to having a Giaour out there himself, which heaven forfend: *astaghfir Allah!* So 'Amrān was glad to get back to Shahrain and the Giaour unharmed. His expedition had been of no particular value, but it was amusing for its effect on the indignant and outraged dwellers in the void.

196.—LOADING-UP FOR AL-'UBAID

One thing with regard to this Tell al-Quṣair has always surprised me, and that is the perfectly extraordinary form which its name took in the military map of the district: 'Tel Kessue'.[1] Did some of the contributors to this cartography have none but an oral acquaintance with Arabic names? It is really not very creditable to some of our military cartographers at the time that they should have been, apparently, unaware that Arabic is a language of ancient literary eminence, whose words and names can be and should be properly spelt according to rule. What should we think of a British map of France that called Châlon 'Shallong' or Toulouse 'Toolooz'? The name al-Quṣair is as common and as easily identifiable as it possibly can be (see p. 228, *n.* 2).

197.—ON THE WAY TO AL-'UBAID

A matter in connexion with the neighbourhood of Shahrain that interested me much was the clear trace, visible from the queer hard and horny tip of the ziggurrat, of ancient canals radiating over the desert to the north and west. They resemble the lines on the Moon that radiate from Tycho. I had no time to trace them, and the

[1] It appeared thus on the map reproduced in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New Vols. (1922), 32, at p. 810, but has since happily given place in the maps to the correct spelling.

work could be done better from an aeroplane, as I hope eventually it will be.

On 8 May my time was up, and I removed to al-'Ubaid direct across the desert, without returning to Ur. Six camels of the Dhafir took the heavy impedimenta. Smaller things went *per* Ford (Figs. 196–8). The Turks foot-slogged. I, having paid a visit of farewell to Lezzām at his tents, brought up the rear in a car late in the afternoon, the move having, as usual, taken the whole day; and on my arrival at 'Ubaid found tent pitched and dinner ready, in a much more pleasant situation than at Shahrain, as will be told. The solitary peak of Shahrain's island of mounds was left again to its cicadas and its flies and its fierce midday heat until a chance traveller should revisit it, or excavation begin there again, which I hope may be the case ere long, though perhaps the omens are hardly favourable yet. But when Ur is finished Shahrain should be tackled in earnest. The preliminary sounding work of Thompson, followed by my reconnaissance, had shewn what the site is like. Its possibilities systematic excavation alone will reveal.

198.—THE OLD STYLE AND THE NEW

Note 1.—Mr. Gadd has kindly contributed the following note on the rayed graffito mentioned on p. 209 (Fig. 180): 'The first of these graffiti (from House I, Room 7) appears to be an archaic form of the sign 𒂗, the Sumerian *en*, "incantation". It is well known that magical figures were painted or scratched on the walls of rooms to resist the entrance of devils, or to cast them out from persons possessed. Directions for such practices are found in the texts; but this is probably the first discovery of an actual wall thus inscribed'.—C. J. G.

Note 2.—Mesopotamian cartography has in the past been by no means impeccable. But the 1927 edition of the 1:1,000,000 international map of Asia (Baṣrah section: North H–38) seems admirable, except for the survival of Tell or Tall 'Ede' (see p. 78). The errors with regard to the railway in the neighbourhood of Ur, which still disfigured the 1924 edition, have disappeared. But now Abu Shahrain, which appeared twice in the 1924 edition (as Tell Abu Shahrain and Tell Abu Shahrein!), has disappeared altogether: from being double, it is now totally abolished!

CHAPTER VIII

AL-'UBAID

THE full scientific account of my excavation at al-'Ubaid has already been published by the Trustees of the British Museum, and for details of the work and its results, which of course were far more important than at Shahrain, or, so far as I was concerned, at Ur, I must refer readers to that publication. The present chapter deals more generally with the excavations and finds. I am indebted to the Trustees for permission to quote liberally from my former work and use some of its illustrations.

I have already above (pp. 128, 153) described the discovery of the tell of al-'Ubaid, al-Ma'abad or al-'Abd,[1] which is situated about four miles west of Ur, and a mile and a half south-west of the railway from Ur to Samāwah. The whole desert-margin hereabouts, on the borders of 'the sown', is dotted with tells, or mounds marking ancient sites (see Fig. 152), of various sizes and dates, from the Sumerian period to early Arab days. Such are Abu-Sakhāri, athwart the railway, nearer to Ur than al-'Ubaid is, which is Sumerian, and a nameless 'Tell X' with mixed remains beyond al-'Ubaid (both these visited by me), Tell Rajībah (visited by Woolley and Gadd), in the same neighbourhood, and others beyond; while on the other side of Ur are Tell al-Laḥm, examined by Taylor and Thompson, and the tells of Tuwaiyil, al-Judaidah, Abu Rasain, Murājib, al-Jabūrah, and a 'Tell A',—all, except the last, which I visited, examined by Thompson in 1918 and described by him. It is easy to gather the date of a mound from

[1] These names are all derived from the same root '*abd*, 'servant', 'service'; al-Ma'abad meaning 'the place of worship', al-'Ubaid 'the little slave', al-'Abd 'the slave'. I only heard the first two names, Mr. Sidney Smith in 1922 the third. Al-'Ubaid is used by the Muntafiq, al-Ma'abad by the Badu' or nomad Arabs. It certainly seems the most appropriate of the three, as the site is that of a temple, but al-'Ubaid is the more usual and better known name. '*Abd*, a slave, always means a negro: so that Tell al-'Ubaid means 'The Mound of the Little Nigger'.

the surface-finds.[1] Scattered coins shew us that a site was occupied in classical days and later, fragments of variegated glass and mediaeval pottery shew Arab occupation, fragments of copper such as nails may be of any ancient date but are probably of the Bronze Age, while flints and a peculiar type of painted pottery are prehistoric. When early remains are found on the surface, with no admixture of later objects, one can be sure that here is a more or less untouched site. Such was the case with al-'Ubaid. The mound roused my interest by the close

199.—PAINTED POTTERY FRAGMENTS: AL-'UBAID

resemblance of the ancient objects lying on the surface of the desert round it to those found at Abu Shahrain.

No previous visitor had noted the spot or had picked up any of the thousands of fragments of painted pottery (Fig. 199), flint, chert, obsidian, carnelian and crystal flakes (Figs. 200–1), disk-heads, nails and pegs, fragments of aragonite vases, inlay-plaques of aragonite and red stone, copper nails and so forth (Fig. 202), which strewed the desert as at Shahrain. 'Oddly enough, however, one saw but few of the extraordinary vitrified pottery

[1] See *How to Observe in Archaeology* (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), p. 84.

sickles and curved convex-headed "nails" that were so characteristic of Shahrain, though the long conical "nails" or cones were not uncommon, ranging, as at Shahrain, from large specimens of a length of several inches with a width at the broad end of an inch or so to small pencil-like objects an inch or sometimes less in length (Fig. 203).

200.—FLINT, CHERT, AND OBSIDIAN BLADES: AL-'UBAID

'Maceheads of limestone, plain or veined, were found both at Shahrain and at al-'Ubaid, of the two types, pear-shaped and flattened spherical, which are both also found in Egypt, at Hissarlik, in Cyprus, and in Italy. The similarity of type, well known as it is, is striking. An elongated type is also found (Fig. 204). Both at Shahrain and at al-'Ubaid, how-

201.—MICROLITHS: AL-'UBAID

ever, there is also commonly found a stone implement that is rare in Egypt—the small celt, of a late neolithic type common in Europe. It is in Babylonia generally made of green or yellow jasper, black basalt, or a hard green stone (serpentine or nephrite?), measures only an inch or so in length, and was evidently used as a chisel or adze (Fig. 202). These celts certainly seem to belong to the chalcolithic age, to which also the arrowheads, flakes, saw-blades, etc., of flint, chert, quartz-crystal, and obsidian, found with them, are to be assigned. The saw-blades (Fig. 202) are peculiarly abundant at al-'Ubaid, whereas at Shahrain they are rare. They are found on other Mesopotamian sites, as Ur, Warka, Farah and Babylon, but nowhere in such profusion and perfection as at al-'Ubaid. None were found set in bitumen, like those described by

202.—FLINT, CHERT, OBSIDIAN, AND CRYSTAL IMPLEMENTS: AL-'UBAID

Koldewey from Farah (see p. 202).[1] The maceheads come well down into historical times, as we know from the fine specimen in red breccia in the British Museum, which bears the name of Shargāli-sharri (No. 91146), and is almost precisely similar to an Egyptian predynastic specimen, also in red breccia, in the same museum (No. 32089).[2] The pegs and nails are probably simply pegs and nails, not lip or nose-studs (Fig. 205); though Fig. 206 must be an ear-stud.[3] Disk-heads of car-

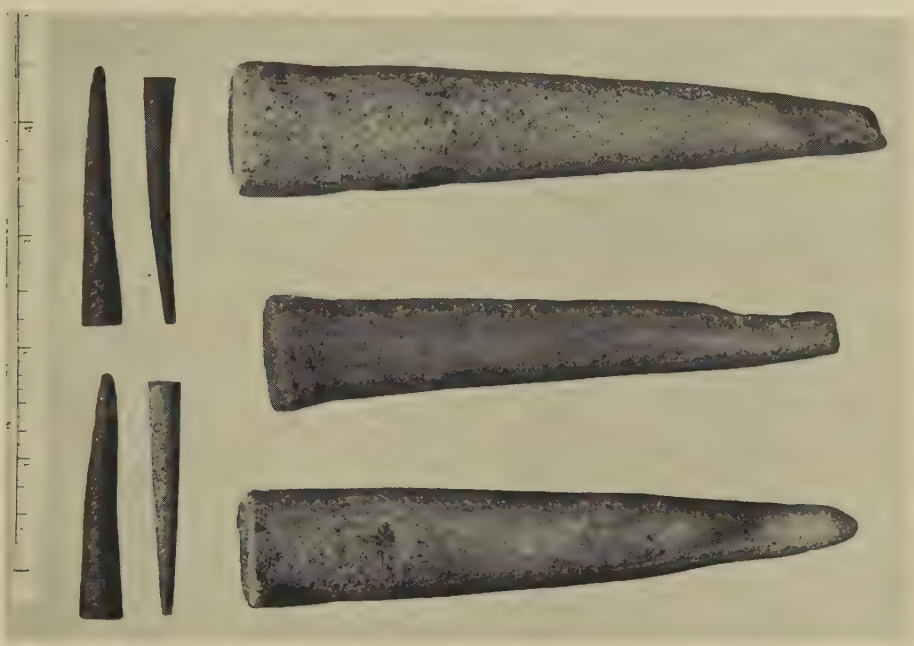


FIG. 203.—POTTERY CONES: AL-'UBAID

nelian and jasper, often unfinished, are found, and beads of shell, sometimes hexagonal, with punctated designs (Fig. 208). The rough chert

[1] Hall, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, p. 253, where references are given. Loftus, *Travels and Researches*, p. 213, may be excused, seeing when he wrote, for his idea that these flint saw-blades were flints for striking a light. If, as he says he did, he found one with a 'steel' in a tomb (evidently of late date), the later Babylonians must have used these ancient saws for this purpose.

[2] Budge, *History of Egypt*, I, p. 63, illustrates the two British Museum mace-heads, side by side.

[3] Prof. V. G. Childe thinks (*The Most Ancient East*, p. 139) that these pegs were used as nose and lip-plugs, but I see no particular reason to suppose them to be this, and Fig. 206 I should certainly regard as an ear-stud rather than as a lip-plug.

hoe-blades (Figs. 201, 207) which look, but are not, palaeolithic, are characteristic of al-'Ubaid and Shahrain.

'The celts and even the flint and obsidian flakes and arrowheads also may have survived in use later than we think, but in all probability most of them are prehistoric, as the painted pottery must be. . . . This, the

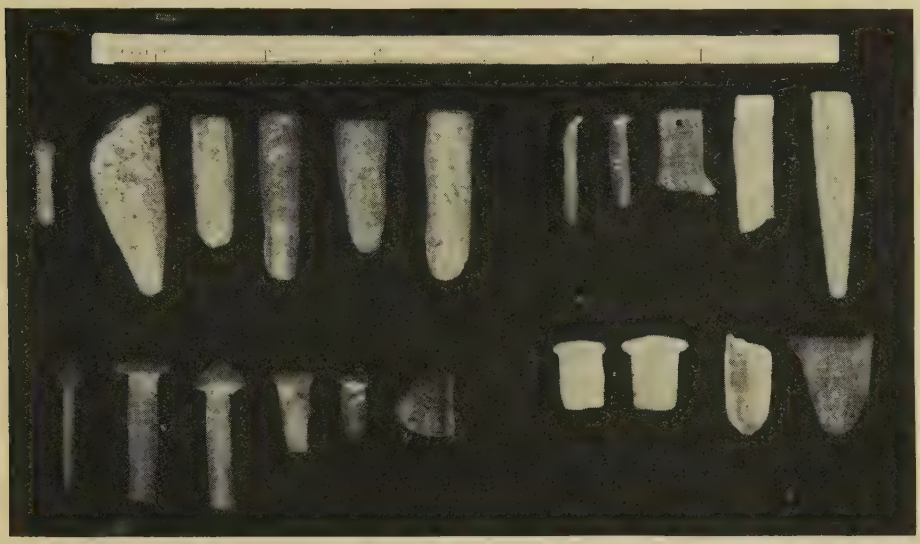
204.—STONE MACEHEADS: AL-'UBAID

prehistoric ware, is identical, as has already been said, with that found by Pézard at Bushire, and by Thompson and myself at Shahrain, and closely related to the coarser wares from Susa.'[1]

I decided therefore that this must be the site of an early building, and organized a subsidiary excavation of it, which began on 8 April, two days

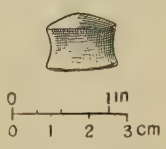
[1] Hall, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, p. 253.

after its discovery. I started work with half a dozen Turks under Ramazān and Ḥaṣan Taḥsin, and the raïs, Shakri. On account of the distance from Ur it was considered advisable to have a guard of a couple of Sepoys under a Naïk, to keep watch (Fig. 210). So the work began. Next day



205.—QUARTZ, SANDSTONE, AND CRYSTAL PEGS, ETC.: AL-'UBAID

General Cobbe and his A.D.C. came out to see it, so that I and my Turks and Sepoys had the blessing of the military authorities and could go ahead. While the raïs, the two sergeants, and four men started to dig a trench, the two other Turks, both specially selected for their sharp sight, one of them my saturnine Laz, Suliman Demīr, were detailed to search the surroundings for surface-objects. And very successful they were, spotting things that I should never have seen.



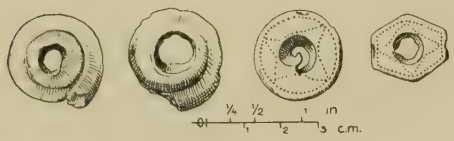
206. — GREEN JASPER EAR-STUD: AL-'UBAID

'The surface-finds were strewn over what looked like a sort of fan of detritus washed down from the mound extending for some distance round the south-west and southern sides of it. It had been supposed that the similar "fan" on the same sides of the mound of Shahrain did in reality consist of detritus washed out of the light sandy mounds by rain and carrying all sorts of objects with it some distance out on to the desert surface. The discoveries of Mr. Woolley, however, have rendered this theory untenable, at any rate in the case of al-'Ubaid, where it was in any

case always very doubtful, owing to the small size and height of the mound and the fact that none of these objects were found in the mound itself.

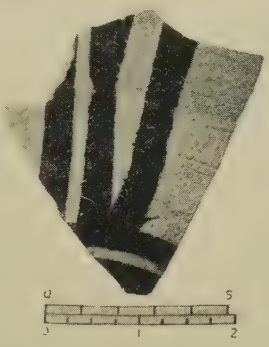
207.—CHERT HOE-BLADES, CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD: AL-'UBAID

They are remains from the primitive settlement and (as Thompson originally suggested as an alternative explanation with regard to similar surface-finds at Shahrain) from a cemetery which Mr. Gadd has shewn reason to think was the most ancient cemetery of Ur. It was the sacred place on the other side of a stream (? the Euphrates), where the oldest dead of Ur were buried under the protection of the goddess of the Underworld, Ninkhursag (see p. 273). If in prehistoric days this was on the mound where the temple was afterwards built (above whose ruins the present mound has collected as a result of the decay of the ancient buildings)—and there must



208.—SHELL BEADS: AL-'UBAID

have been some slight elevation for the primitive cemetery-settlement to have been erected at all, as a security against desert-floods—it and its contents must have been removed when the temple was built. It can never have been big enough—the present mound is not big enough—to allow of the surface-finds outside it having been swept out of its lower strata by rainstorms. Future excavations at Shahrain will explain the similar surface-finds there more fully.



209.—SUMERIAN PAINTED POTTERY FRAGMENT: EL-'UBAID

'The Sumerian temple will have left some traces in the immediate surroundings of the mound, and broken pottery of the historic period, of a softer ware, a paler drab colour and usually without painted decoration, lies about together with the older painted ware, though not in such profusion. In the excavation of the temple the absence of the painted ware and sole presence of the unpainted is marked; but fragments of the Sumerian age were found with remains of degenerate painted decoration that was evidently a survival of the older style (Fig. 209).

210.—THE FIRST DAY'S WORK AT AL-'UBAID

'The temple of Ninkhursag is the central feature of the site, and its excavation, which I began, has resulted in the discovery of some of the most important of early Sumerian art.'[1]

The mound is about 150–170 feet (50 metres) long by about 20 feet (6–7 metres) high.

We reached the wall of the building on the first day: it was, as I had hoped, a panelled or 'crenellated' wall of burnt plano-convex bricks, the

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 11.

early type, which shewed that it was early Sumerian, dating before 2700 B.C. Walls of this type are found also in contemporary early Egypt, but never the plano-convex brick: the Egyptian bricks are always rectangular. So that if the panelled wall came to Egypt from Babylonia, as seems likely, the plano-convex brick did not. The bricks, measuring only 8 by 6 by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches (20·3 by 15·2 by 4 cm.) are of a very ancient and primitive type; lumpishly plano-convex with two holes side by side on the convex side. They argued a date before 3000 B.C. The gypseous stone foundation of this wall was excavated by Mr. Woolley later. Tracing the wall in both directions from where we had hit it, on the second day we turned a corner, following the east face: we had struck the north face. Above it we found remains of a later brick platform, probably of the time of King Shulgi (see p. 264).

211.—MOSAIC COLUMNS: AL-'UBAID

Then on the third day we made the first interesting discovery. I was still busy at Ur, and visited the work once a day by car. I have described the great find as follows in *Al-'Ubaid* (p. 14 ff.; I insert references to illustrations here). 'At the close of the third day we came upon the stumps of three mosaic columns, lying at angles of 60° to 45° with their upper parts towards the wall at a distance of about one to three feet from it (Fig. 211). Next morning on my arrival they were carefully uncovered, and I then went off to look for surface-finds with the help of my lynx-eyed Laz, leaving my Arab head-raīs, who happened to be with me that day on my visit of inspection, to supervise their clearing and prepare them for a photograph. Suddenly he came rushing to me about half an hour later, saying that they had found "*baha'im*" (wild beasts) and that the Turkish *shaūsh* was so "contented" (*mabsūṭ*), that he feared he would grub them up with his own hands if I did not come quickly. Wondering what kind of frightful "behemoth" had been discovered, I was on the spot in five

minutes, to find that the *shaūsh* had been more sensible than his Arab civilian colleague had expected: for instead of falling on the "beasts" to grub them up, as an Arab might, he had promptly ordered his men to hold up their operations until I arrived. What I saw was an unexpected treasure. While the Arab himself had uncovered beyond the third mosaic column the muzzle of what seemed to be a copper or bronze figure of a bull (Fig. 212), the Turks a few feet away to the left had found a much more "fearful wild-fowl", with which they were intensely pleased. I saw the top of the head of a lion appearing above the earth at a distance of about eight feet from the south-east wall and at a depth of about six: it faced south: close by, at a distance of about eighteen inches, appeared the side of another head. They appeared black: they had staring red and white eyes and grinning white teeth (Fig. 213). A very short examination showed me that they were of metal, or of what appeared to be wood covered with corroded and broken metal, that the eyes and teeth were of stone or shell, and that they were in a most fragile condition, which would necessitate the greatest care in their extraction from the stiff soil in which they were embedded. We were not working in loose sand like that of Shahrain, or even in the more solid

212.—BULL AND MOSAIC COLUMNS

213.—FINDING THE LION-HEADS

but still pliable earth of Muqayyar, but in a stiff clay beneath stiffer crude-brick, that needed hard work to dig it. The bull, too, that had been found was obviously in a most delicate condition. We therefore suspended operations for the day, and next day the two most skilful of the Arab raïses started work at al-'Ubaid under my supervision.

'The bull had first to be dealt with (Fig. 214). Its head was about a foot away from the second projecting panel of the wall: it was therefore the nearest of the animals to the south-east corner of the platform. The top of its head was about two feet below the level of the top of the wall as found.

214.—BULL AND MOSAIC COLUMNS

It lay underneath another prostrate mosaic column, beyond which, after an interval of a few inches, was apparently one of copper. Being carefully investigated, this proved to be the case: it was a great copper cylinder, or more probably a clay or wood column cased in copper. Cheek by jowl with this, in the same row with it and lying at the same angle, was another and very finely-preserved mosaic column-stump, lying at an angle of 60°. Immediately beyond this appeared the head of another bull with horns: the first had lost its horns.

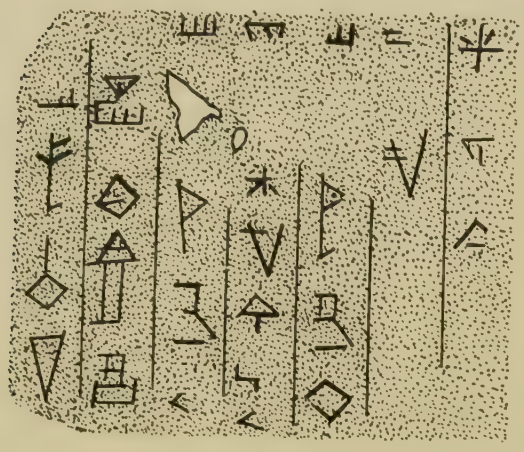
'In order to get at the first bull it was obvious that the columns had to

be removed. I had no means of preserving them whole, and the mosaic could, after all, be carefully taken to pieces and put together again. Accordingly this was done and the tesserae have all been brought back to England, to be reconstituted in the British Museum. The copper pillars seemed in a hopeless state of oxidization: nevertheless their metal was brought back and it may be possible to do something with them. The horned bull was first uncovered, the last copper column being left for the time to give it support on account of its fragile condition. The bull stood on a curiously clumsy metal base, or pedestal, apparently a copper-sheathed balk of wood. The first bull when uncovered proved to rest on a similar base, of which the metal was torn open at the fore-end, whereas at the other end it projected considerably beyond the animal's tail. Just behind this projection appeared the twisted tail and the lower parts of the legs of a third, smaller, bull, but no more: it was broken off above the knees and in front of the legs (Fig. 215).

215.—BULLS AND COPPER COLUMNS

'Then, within a few minutes of its complete uncovering, but luckily not until it had been photographed, the first bull collapsed into a heap of green powder, leaving only its face intact. As I had no means of packing or transporting the second bull at the moment, it was, after photographing, reburied as it stood in order to avoid a similar disaster, if possible. The third, of which nothing but the legs and tail remained, the rest having been destroyed anciently, was held together only by clay, and so terribly fragmentary that its pieces were picked out to be brought back, like the columns, no attempt being made to keep it whole. The second, after it had been removed later on, was packed whole, but it was but a cracked mass also held together merely by mud, and the voyage did not improve it.' It may be possible to put it together again, as a fragment of its wooden *âme* or block, has survived, whereas nothing was left of this in the case of

the first bull. In the course of cleaning some of its fragments in the British Museum Laboratory, an inscription, faintly discernible and only partially legible, on its side has now recently been recovered, unluckily too late to be included in the British Museum publication *Al-'Ubaid*. It is illustrated by Fig. 216, from a copy by Mr. Gadd, who has recognized it as a duplicate of the foundation-inscription of king A-anni-padda, the builder of the temple (p. 251).



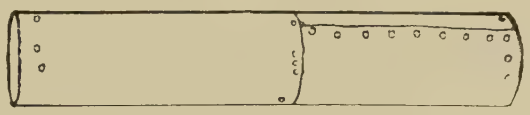
216.—INSCRIPTION OF A-ANNI-PADDA ON A COPPER BULL: AL-'UBAID, 1919

'A bull's horn was found of thick gold, hollow, and filled with bitumen (Fig. 217). This find caused a dispute between the Turkish sergeant and the Arab raïses, as the former suspected the latter of desiring to appropriate it, and refused to let them touch it, giving it to me with his own hands, much to their annoyance. "Whether I am right," said he, "who knows but Allah, who sees what is in men's hearts?" The companion horn was never found.'

217.—GOLD BULL'S HORN

A certain coolness ensued between the Turkish sergeant (Ramazān) and 'Amrān and Muḥammad after this episode, and it was not till we went to Shahrain a fortnight later, and they had to join forces in looking after the Badu' diggers there that they became good friends (*rafīq*). Meanwhile, I had to separate them, so 'Amrān and Muḥammad returned to Ur and ceased for a time to take any interest in al-'Ubaid, where I kept the other two raïses Shakr and 'Abūd to work with the Turks under my continuous supervision.

The Turks were most willing, but the more practised wits and the sharp knives of the Arab raïses, as well as my own active participation, were necessary if the *beha'im* were to be excavated successfully. I had 'sandfly' fever at the time, but was transported by car, a very dazed and aching bundle swathed in a great coat and rugs in spite of the heat, to al-'Ubaid every morning. Luckily the fever lasted only two days. The work at Ur was now summarily curtailed, as I was preparing to go to Shahrain on 21 April; the Arab 'levies' of Munshid's (see p. 127) were dismissed and paid off on 17 April, and on the 18th work stopped also at al-'Ubaid. I dared not go on to further possible finds there. The bulls and the lions had been dug out, and those of the former that survived had been removed to Ur, but the lions I had no time to move, and they had to be covered up again till our return from Shahrain. The date of the move to Shahrain had been arranged with the shaikhs of the Dhafir Beduins long before the discovery of al-'Ubaid, and it was impossible to alter the date of this important move, for which so many other dovetailed arrangements had to be made.



218.—COPPER PIPE: AL-'UBAID

219.—THE LION-HEADS, COPPER PIPES, ETC.

'The deposit occupies a space of about 20 feet by 10 feet, on the same level as the ancient wall, so that the objects were, so to speak, stamped down into the mud, and the bricks of the later platform laid on top of them without the slightest compunction. On the top was a mass of twisted, crushed, and contorted copper—pipes, small pillars, bars, and sheets—lying in incomprehensible confusion, and nearly all in an irremediable state of oxidization'[1] (Figs. 218–19). Beneath

[1] Hall, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, p. 146.

this layer, and luckily preserved by it from great damage, were found the objects I have described.

The figures of the bulls were coarsely fashioned, but a detached bull's head, with one horn only left, of which the body had been smashed to pieces anciently, was also found, which is very fine: one of the best examples of Sumerian animal portraiture known (Fig. 220). Another ox-head, perfect, was found of the same type as those of the recumbent heifers discovered here later by Mr. Woolley, but with the addition of a crescent, the emblem of the Moon God, in relief on its forehead (Fig. 221). The copper pin for fixing its head to its body, which had disappeared, still exists. This head appears to be cast, whereas the other is hammered (see p. 248).

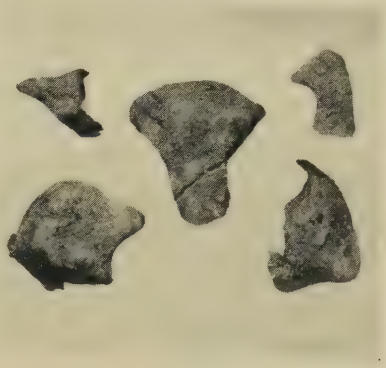
220.—COPPER BULL'S HEAD: HAMMERED COPPER

Four small copper heads of birds, rudely made of hammered copper plates nailed together, probably represent the ducks of the goddess Bau or Gula (Fig. 222). They were found above the bulls.

221.—HEAD OF RECUMBENT (?) HEIFER: CAST COPPER
The back view shews the method of fixing with a pin.

Four copper heads and two foreparts of life-size lions were found, each head filled with bitumen mixed with straw and clay, so that the metal formed

a mask over the bitumen, which preserves the form of the metal mask, like a cast from a mould (Fig. 223). Owing to the bad state of the metal, this fact is most fortunate. 'Each of these heads had large eyes of red jasper, white shell, and blue schist, the jasper representing the iris, the shell the white of the eyeball, and the schist the lids: each eye being in three pieces, accurately fitting, and fastened by copper wire into the bitumen at the back. Each head was also furnished with teeth of white shell, the incisors being separate, the molars in one piece at either end of the mouth: all being fastened, like the eyes, with copper wire to the bitumen core (Fig. 226). In the mouth of each was a red jasper tongue (missing in one case). The lion was thus represented grinning ferociously, with wide-open eyes, according to the usual Sumerian convention, which the early Egyptians also used but very soon abandoned for the typical impassive lion of Egyptian art, whereas the grinning lion continued and continues to be typical of that of the Orient. The characteristic round muzzle of the Sumerian lion, so distinct from the equally characteristic square muzzle of the Egyptian lion, was very apparent.'[1]



222.—COPPER HEADS OF BIRDS

223.—LION'S HEAD: FULL FACE, WITHOUT COPPER MASK

Of these heads, the bitumen core of one as well as its copper mask were so badly damaged that it has been found impossible to restore it. The foreparts, and what are possibly very rudimentary forelegs (there were no hinder parts) of the

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 18.

first two, were formed of hammered copper plates roughly fastened together with nails over a wooden block or *âme*, which when found had almost entirely disintegrated and had become replaced by infiltrated clay. The copper plates rudely represent the fell of the animal. The 'bodies' were joined to the heads by wooden tenons that fitted into square holes in the bitumen of the heads (Fig. 225). In the case of the second two, these 'bodies' had disappeared. It is evident that these four lions performed some architectural function, jutting forth from the wall from which they had fallen, as they have been restored by Mr. Woolley in his hypothetical reconstruction of the building.[1] They were, as Mr. Campbell Thompson has suggested, guardians of the shrine. They must have fallen at one blow, as they were found in a line, side by side.

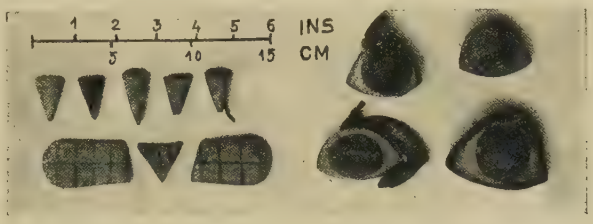
224.—LION'S HEAD IN PROFILE

'Above the third and fourth of them were found, lying athwart, two small heads of leopards or cats (it is uncertain which animal is intended), with pointed ears, no separate eyes, teeth, or tongues, and no bodies of any kind (Fig. 227). The copper covering of these two heads was exceptionally well-preserved, as also was that of one (Fig. 228) of the two smaller lion-heads (intermediate in size between the life-size heads

225.—LION'S HEAD: BACK

[1] *Al-'Ubaid*, Pl. xxxviii, p. 113.

and those of the leopards), whereas the other has wholly lost its outer covering, to which only a green stain testifies here and there on the bitumen. These two lions, which were found close by, placed as if continuing the larger row, have smaller eyes, etc., of the same type as those of the larger animals. Of these, like the leopards, no bodies apparently existed.'[1]



226.—EYES AND TEETH OF LIONS

All these metal figures were of pure copper, as the analyses of their fragments, carried out by Dr. Alexander Scott, F.R.S., and Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, of the British Museum Laboratory, and by Professors Desch and Bannister, have proved. Detailed quantitative analyses will be found in *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 37 ff. A certain amount of nickel was found in the copper, but

227.—LEOPARD OR CAT HEADS WITH COPPER MASKS

less tin: in only one instance was as much as nearly 3 per cent. of tin found: not so much as to cause us to regard it as a real artificial bronze. In another fragment 4 per cent. of lead was found, and a trace of silver, which also appeared in a nail analysed. The analyses made by

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, *loc. cit.*

Dr. Scott and his assistant Mr. E. C. Padgham of copper nails and a dagger (?) from Shahrain, found by Mr. R. C. Thompson, show metal of the same purity as that from al-'Ubaid, without any trace of tin, antimony, or arsenic. So far then no true bronze has been found either at al-'Ubaid or at Shahrain.

The metal of the bodies of the animals was certainly hammered over a wooden *âme* covered with clay and bitumen, and so probably were the larger heads, though these were afterwards touched up by the graver. The small heifer-head (Fig. 221), and the similar heads found by Mr. Woolley (*Al-'Ubaid*, p. 86, Pl. xxx) were, however, undoubtedly cast: on the head found by me the unobliterated joint-ridge of the casting is plainly visible, made by the junction of the two halves of the mould. The ears, too, are in one piece with the rest of the head; this would only be possible in a casting. The ears of the standing bulls, however, were made of hammered metal, and nailed on separately, as were the body-plates, with large copper nails.

228.—LION'S HEAD WITH COPPER MASK

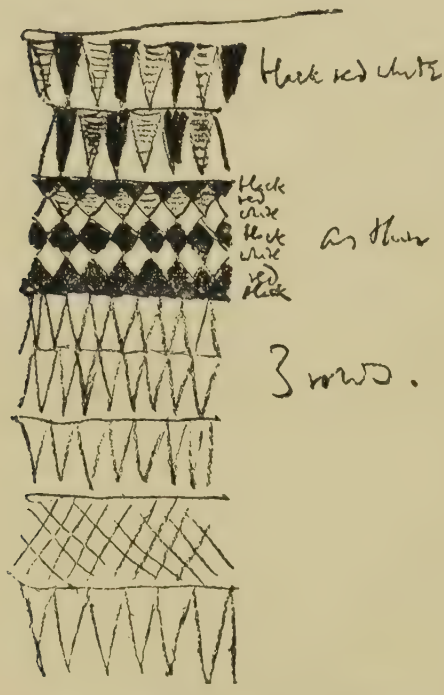
There were three pillars of copper with clay (decomposed wood) inside them, and five (four large and one smaller) of mosaic work with triangular tesserae of red sandstone, black bituminous limestone, and mother-of-pearl, arranged in patterns and fastened at the back by means of copper wire through V-shaped perforations into a layer of bitumen which was apparently spread over the wooden core, now replaced by clay (Figs. 229 and 230). These pillars and those of copper had no bases; they had preserved only about 3 feet of their height. They were not, of course, in their original position, but had been knocked down and lay on their sides at an angle of forty-five degrees. No capitals were

visible. This mosaic work is highly curious, and has already been found on a much smaller scale in a 'colonette' dedicated by the Sumerian king Eannatum, from Telloh, and on offering-stands from a tomb at Tepē 'Ali Abad, near Tepē Musyān (Louvre), as well as on several small objects recently discovered by Mr. Woolley at Ur. It was curious to find examples at the very beginning of Eastern civilization of a technique still extremely fashionable in the Arab and Indian East, as we know from hundreds of Egyptian and Indian coffee-tables, &c. My Indian chauffeurs and guard were delighted with these things, and their discovery confirmed the Indians in their idea (very prevalent among the Hindu rank and file in Mesopotamia) that the lions and bulls were really Indian, and that in ancient days their ancestors had conquered Babylonia.

229.—MOSAIC AND COPPER COLUMNS

'The primitive three-colour scheme of red, white, and black seems to be characteristic of early Sumerian art. I found it in the crude decoration of the Sumerian houses at Shahrain with their bands of red, white and black, or plain red and white paint on the stuccoed crude brick walls. And one sees it also on the curious flower-cones (if they may be so called) which were found at al-'Ubaid mixed up with what has already been described. They are cones of pottery, having heads at the broad end expanding into flowers, with seven or eight petals of red sandstone, black bituminous limestone (as in the case of the pillars), and white limestone (not nacre), fastened on as before with twisted wire through a V-shaped perforation (Fig. 231). Judging from the analogy of the plain pottery

cones, already mentioned, which Loftus identified as wall-decorations, it would seem that these flower-cones are in reality rosettes, with long conical shanks for insertion into walls.'[1] I cannot credit Mr. Woolley's theory of rows of these flower-cones standing up on end, connected by wires and swaying in the wind.[2] The arrangement seems to me highly improbable and unprecedented, and I do not see why it should be maintained when there is the perfectly simple explanation of rosette wall-decoration.



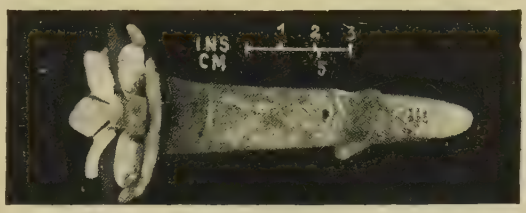
230.—A SKETCH FROM MY NOTEBOOK: A MOSAIC COLUMN OF THE SMALLER TYPE

Finally must be mentioned the fragment of the limestone figure of Kur-lil, keeper of the granary of Erech, and the almost complete trachyte figure of a man who is probably Kur-lil too. Both were found together, just below the level of the lions and close to them. The first is a white limestone torso on the back of which is cut a very archaic inscription (Fig. 232)[3] recording the gift of the statue by the keeper of the granary of Erech in the temple of Damgalnun, which was presumably al-'Ubaid: the goddess Damgalnun (Nin-khursag) being the spouse of Enki or Ea, the god of Eridu (Shahr-ain), near by. The inscription reads: 'Kur-lil, Keeper of the Granary of Erech, Damgalnun he fashioned, (her) temple he built' (transl. by Mr. C. J. Gadd). Kur-lil was then the

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 17. See p. 203, above. [2] *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 119.

[3] Like Fig. 109, I have shewn Fig. 232 in the position in which inscriptions were in Sumerian times and much later really intended to be read, *i.e.*, from top to bottom, vertically from right to left. The reading of inscriptions on one side and the cutting of them so, to be read horizontally from left to right, certainly did not come in for monumental and funeral inscriptions, at any rate, till the Kassite period. So most of our early inscriptions in the Museums are wrongly mounted, to be read horizontally, because Late Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions are so written and to be read. A curious antithesis to this peculiar turning of cuneiform inscriptions over on to one side is to be found in Mongolian and Manchu writing, which are simply Syriac turned on one side to be read vertically: the reverse process!

builder of the temple of al-'Ubaid. The trachyte figure is nearly complete (Fig. 233 and Frontispiece). Kur-lil, if it be he, is represented as a squatting figure of the usual Sumerian type, about 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The head, shaven but for the eyebrows, and face, with prominent eyes and nose, are perfectly preserved. The rest of the body is as usual treated summarily, especially as regards the hands and feet, and the legs have suffered from disintegration caused by damp, one foot having disappeared. On the shoulder is a single sign, the rest of the inscription having been erased or worn away.



231.—A FLOWER-CONE: AL-'UBAID

These two figures dated the whole find. From the style of the trachyte figure they were evidently of the early Sumerian period, practically of the period of Ur-Nanshē or Ur-Ninā (*c.* 2900 B.C.), or, to judge from the archaic appearance of the characters of the inscription of Kur-lil, somewhat earlier.

232.—THE INSCRIPTION OF KUR-LIL

So that they were, no doubt, contemporaneous with the building, or very little later than it. This dating of mine in 1919 was confirmed by the discovery by Mr. Woolley when he resumed operations at al-'Ubaid in 1923 of an inscribed foundation-tablet of A-anni-padda, a king of the Ist Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 3100–3000 B.C.); which reads: 'A-anni-padda, king of Ur, son of Mes-anni-padda, king of Ur, for Nin-khursag has built a temple' (transl. by Mr. Gadd, *al-'Ubaid*, pp. 61, 126). Damgalnun is the same deity as Nin-khursag, so that Kur-lil may be regarded as the official who carried out the orders of King A-anni-padda with regard to the Temple. A-anni-padda must have ruled over Erech as well as Ur, since Kur-lil

held an important post at Erech. But he was not known to the later dynastic lists preserved by the Babylonian priests and scribes, though Mes-anni-padda was. As in the case of early Egypt, where the later lists of the most ancient kings (of the Ist to IIIrd Dynasties) are very incomplete and erroneous, the Babylonian lists have to be largely supplemented and corrected by the evidence of the actual monuments of the early kings, like this of A-anni-padda (see p. 251). This dated the building: and corroboration has been found in the inscription on one of the bulls found by me (Fig. 216), which appears to be a duplicate of the foundation-tablet and so finally dates the copper animals to the same reign as the building itself (p. 242).

233.—THE STATUE OF KUR-LIL (?), IMMEDIATELY AFTER DISCOVERY

The lions and bulls, then, like these two stone figures, were made and set up at the orders of A-anni-padda and Kur-lil. They date, then, just before 3000 B.C.

'The work of excavating the lions was a source of the liveliest interest to the Sepoys of the Indian Guard (of a Rajput battalion) in charge of the prisoners, who mounted guard daily at al-'Ubaid. They were convinced that we were discovering gods. When off duty they would squat down by the side of the lion heads and hold animated discussions as to their nature. I only regretted that owing to my ignorance of Hindustani I was unable to give them any useful information, but whenever any of the British officers of the battalion appeared on a course of inspection, their interpretership was always respectfully solicited by the *naik* and his men to obtain explanations of these remarkable appearances. I found that the more intelligent Turks, like the Bosniak sergeant' (Daūd Ramazān, and his fellow-sergeant Ḫasan Taḥsin, the Macedonian from Monastir), 'and the Constantinopolitan

bash-shaūsh, or sergeant-major, were more intelligent in the matter than the Indians. Although Muslims, and not setting much store by the works of the *Juhāl* ("the Ignorant Ones"), yet they came from Greek lands and from Europe, and something of the European attitude to archaeology was theirs: they were finding old, dead, yet to many very interesting and valuable things, still nothing that compelled any deference greater than that generally given to the aged. The Indian attitude was different, and to one unused to it very queer and even uncomfortable. These things, though old, were to them yet alive: they were perhaps of divine origin,—nay, themselves gods: one felt like a sort of unbelieving high priest thus officiating at their resuscitation. And when the row of large lion heads was finally exhumed, I fully expected them to be found one morning decorated each with a caste-mark of red paint, and with an offering of *ghi* before them, and had tulsi or any other flowers been available, garlands would surely have adorned their necks.' [1] Only Jagan Nath, the Hindu chauffeur, was not so impressed by the lions as were the sepoys. 'Mr. Juggernaut' had no sympathy with 'rotten superstitions of ancient forefathers' of the 'Iraqis.

One day the Indian chauffeur of a visiting officer stole the eyes of one of the gods. He called himself a Muslim, but Indian Muslims often seemed very odd believers to their Arab co-religionists, and this was indeed a queer sort of Muslim. If a Muslim is sworn upon the Qurān to speak the truth, he is supposed to do so, and, unless he is a very bad hat indeed, usually does so. Accordingly I set the stage for the trial. I sat myself at a small table outside my tent, the prisoner was brought before me by my Muslim chauffeur and Ramazān, and the Holy Qurān (*al-Qurān ash-Sharīf*) in its green cloth covering was borne processionally out before me by the raïses. All shoes were reverently kicked off, including the slippers I had on for the purpose instead of boots. I, as judge, was all seriousness, and all the Muslims looked as pious and sanctimonious as possible. The prisoner, appalled by this unexpected paraphernalia of his religion, tried to bolt, was urgently hauled back into position, sworn, and then promptly confessed to the theft. To the horror of the highly respectable raïses and the simple Ramazān, but the covert amusement of the gay Kashmiri 'Abdu'l-Ghani, who much enjoyed the whole show, it appeared that the thief believed in

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 20.

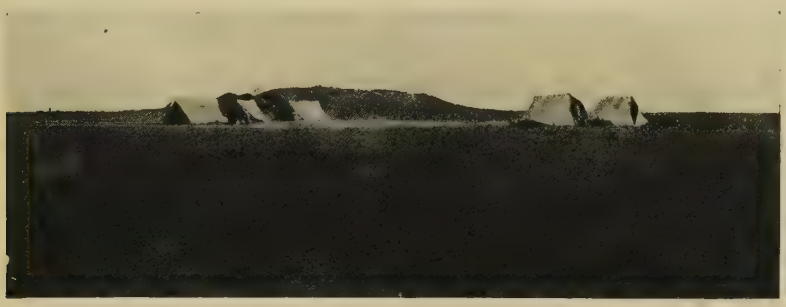
the divine efficacy of a god's eyes as much as any Hindu, and had confiscated them to his own use on this account. One was recovered, but the other had apparently been stolen from him, probably by an outraged Hindu, who thought himself a more appropriate owner, and we never saw it again. The head (one of the two smaller lion-heads) remains one-eyed to this day, blinking out of his wall-case in the Babylonian Room of the British Museum (No. 114314, Fig. 234).

It was impossible to remove or pack the lions before the work was temporarily suspended, during the move to Ur, so they were covered up again lightly with earth to secure them during our absence from rain, only just barely possible in May, and from the ever present danger of well-meaning but ignorant military 'souvenir'-hunting. The last was a great nuisance. The collection of stray bricks with well-known inscriptions, lying about loose, did not matter; but it was another thing when attempts were made to hammer bricks out of the ziggurrat wall of Bur-Sin at Shahrain. On one occasion a visiting staff-officer found on the surface outside al-'Ubaid a splendid pear-shaped macehead of breccia. My representations that, being found on a site in process of excavation by authority of the Political Service (that is, of the State), it properly belonged to me, that is to say, to the British Museum, and that anyhow it would be graceful of him to present it to the Museum, were received without sympathy, and my proposition rejected. It was obviously difficult to make him see the position, as in 'Mespot' the Army still considered itself monarch of all it surveyed, 'findings were keepings', and the characteristic British hatred of 'the State' was involved; so I desisted. But the fact is chronicled, as an example of the difficulties with which scientific research has sometimes to contend when up against the British Individualist. That object, a very fine one, has gone out of my ken, but I hope it will turn up again later. However, of our lions we lost only a single eye, as has been recounted.

234.—THE ONE-EYED LION

The tesserae of the mosaic pillars, and the figures of Kur-lil had been removed to Ur immediately and packed up at once. The second copper bull now followed, wrapped in a huge bundle of sacking to avoid jolting, if possible, in one of the Fords, driven by 'Abdu'l-Ghani to Ur as slowly and carefully as possible, where, still in its sacking, it was packed at once. Unluckily the precautions taken were not sufficient to keep it intact during the journey to England, where its fragments remain to be put together again when time and opportunity allow.

A fortnight later, on 8 May, I moved the whole Shahrain camp—without the Dhafir Badu' diggers, of course—by car and camel the ten miles to al-'Ubaid (p. 228), and settled down there for a week's work with the four Arabs and the fourteen best Turks, while others came out when necessary



235.—MY CAMP AT AL-'UBAID: MAY, 1919

by car from Ur. I put up my tent on the north-east side of the mound and camped as I had at Shahrain; Ur being worked from al-'Ubaid through the sergeant-major and *bash-shaūsh*. The camp was pitched in a situation much pleasanter than at Shahrain, on a perfectly level stretch of hard-packed desert just north of the mound, very different from the loose sand of Shahrain. Here no flying dust got into the tent, and our food was not mixed with gritty sand. The surface was like that of a hard tennis-court. The camp consisted of four tents: mine, that of the Arab raïses, that of the Turks, and that of the two Indians, each well separated from the other (Fig. 235). The week's work was hard. The Mesopotamian sun of May was powerful and was found so even by the Arabs. We worked every day in a temperature that reached 116° Fahrenheit in the shade at midday, and only knocked off from eleven till two for the siesta, whereas at Shahrain work

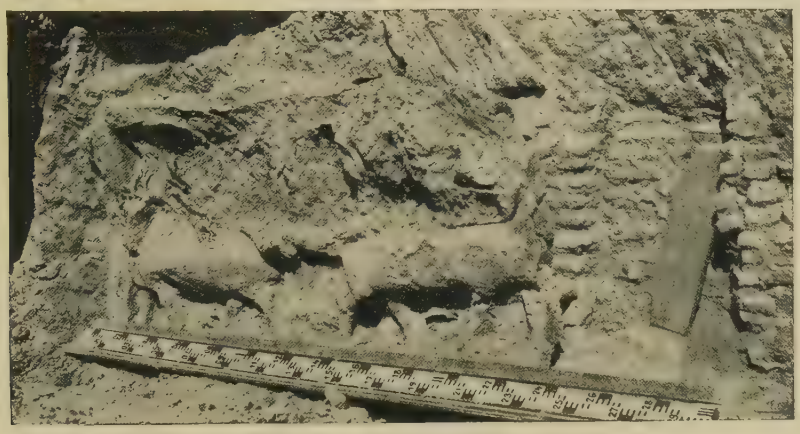
had begun at 6 a.m., ended at 10, and went on again at 4 p.m. till 7 o'clock. A tarpaulin was rigged up to keep the sun off the heads of the diggers (Fig. 236), and I regularly wore my heavy army greatcoat to keep out the fierce rays, as well as the biggest topi I could get. Most of the flies, flying beetles, and dragon-flies that had rendered work at Ur and also at Shahrain miserable in April were now dead, killed by the heat. But heat and the unavoidable dust from the excavation while on the work were enough to make this last week's work extremely arduous, and it was a delight unknown at Shahrain to return to the comfortable and dustless, hard-floored tent, in the evening, and after dinner to enjoy the cool, balmy moonless night with its myriads of clustered stars, whether sitting at ease reading and smoking my long Norwegian pipe in my Rūrki chair, or writing at my table, with lamp lit and burning peacefully, untormented by gnat or beetle or any flying or creeping thing.

236.—DIGGING UNDER THE TARPAULIN IN MAY: AL-'UBAID

We found the four lion heads and the two 'leopards' as we had left them. For their removal, I badly needed petroleum wax, but had none. A small quantity, a parting gift from a friend, that I had brought from England in my exiguous captain's kit had been used for iron objects at Ur. Local candles of tallow were, of course, useless, and Japanese, made of stearin or some other composition, did not melt well and were of no use either. So we had to do without, and be content with seeing what careful packing (as careful as was possible under the circumstances) would do to preserve these remarkable antiquities. They could not be left where they were, re-buried, on the chance that in the future more efficient means of transport might be found for them, since it was not impossible that they might be grubbed up by Arabs meanwhile.

'While packing was going on, digging proceeded, and on the first

day of the renewed work the most remarkable object of all was discovered (Figs. 237-9). This is a great relief of copper within a copper frame



237.—THE IMDUGUD RELIEF: AS FOUND

6 inches broad and 4 inches deep, measuring 7 feet 9½ inches long by 3 feet 6 inches high (2·375 m. by 1·07 m.) over all, on a wood backing; it represents the lion-headed eagle Imdugud or Imgig, the mythical bird of the god Ningirsu, holding two stags by their tails. The stags are in very high relief (3 in.), with their heads turned outwards and in the round: their antlers of wrought copper are entirely free from the background and projected beyond the rectangular framework or border of the relief:—a feature new to ancient Oriental art. The heads were probably, the bodies and legs certainly, hammered and nailed together. The antlers (of a remarkable size and

238.—THE IMDUGUD RELIEF: AS FOUND

239.—THE IMDUGUD RELIEF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

number of tines!) were wrought and hammered, and soldered into their sockets with lead. This lead had so expanded as to burst the heads, one of which was, however, in good shape, whereas the other collapsed: this has been restored. This antithetical group is well known in Sumerian art, and good examples of it may be seen on two tablets of Ur-Ninā's time, on the silver vase of Entemena of Lagash in the Louvre (Fig. 240), and in the relief on a macehead of an official of Enannatum in the British Museum (No. 23287), both from Telloh. The lion-eagle occurs alone on the famous Stele of the Vultures of Enannatum in the Louvre, also from Telloh, where it is held in the hand of Ningirsu. These three objects are of rather later date (*c.* 2900–2800 B.C.) than the al-'Ubaid relief, which is the largest instance of the antithetical group yet known, and as a work of art is unique. There is no doubt that it is of the same period as the other objects discovered, and so dates *c.* 3100 B.C.

240.—IMDUGUD GRASPING STAGS: FROM THE SILVER VASE OF ENTEMENA (LOUVRE)

'Imdugud sometimes holds lions, sometimes ibexes, sometimes stags in his talons. In the case of our relief stags have been chosen. Already when discovered the figure of Imdugud himself was very shadowy, and could be discerned only by the eye of knowledge, for the metal was so terribly oxidized that hardly any of it remained except the green powdery fragments that represented the body and the wings, while the head had entirely disappeared. The stags, on the other hand, were well preserved.'[1]

'The heads of the stags are so good as a piece of modelling that the species of deer represented can be with probability identified as the Oriental Red Deer or *maral* (*Cervus elaphus maral*). The identification is due to Mr. J. G. Dollman, of the British Museum (Natural History). Its spread of antlers has, however, been the subject of a certain artistic exaggeration. The perfect head (Fig. 248) measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches (18·4 cm.) in length, and the other was roughly of the same dimensions. The treatment of the eye, with its many superciliary folds, typical of Sumerian art, is characteristic of all the animal heads found at al-'Ubaid.'[2]

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The group is part of the same scheme as the lions and the bulls, and is of the same period. When found, it stood within a foot of the wall and parallel with it. Whether this was its original position or not, or whether it was originally a decoration of the wall, placed on a bracket or corbels (in the manner of an Italian relief of the *trecento* on the outer wall of a church), and had slipped down to the position in which it was found, it is difficult to say. Mr. Woolley considers that it possibly was placed above the doorway of the building (see p. 268), but there is no certainty of this.

'The work of disengaging the relief from the hard clay and disintegrated mud-brick which covered it was difficult, and was combined with that of packing. After the face was uncovered, and photographs taken, in order to remove it safely it was necessary that the box to contain it on its voyage to England be built up around it, and the hot-smelling desert-sage be stuffed in as packing to deaden concussion, while it was being carefully cut away from its last clay moorings. Finally the long thin box was completely built round it and only three "feet" of clay remained on which it rested, battens having been passed beneath it in four places and nailed to the box sides. Then finally the last three supports were carefully knocked away and the whole weighty mass of copper and clay in its box was slowly turned over away from the wall face downwards. Three short battens completed the box, which was then removed in an Indian army mule-cart driven by a couple of Tamil-speaking soldiers from Madras, with whom none of us, even the Rajput sepoys, were able to communicate except by signs, and went off, drawn by its team of Argentine mules, slowly lurching and lumbering over the desert to Ur (Fig. 241). It arrived in England with surprisingly little damage suffered on the way'.[1]

As the season was now getting very late, and impossibly hot for excavating, I decided to stop after the removal of the Imdugud relief, and to postpone further excavation until my return, which I hoped would be in the following year, a hope falsified by circumstances not under my control or that of the Museum. Tests shewed that there were no more 'beasts' to be found in this spot.

'It was impossible to dig below it in the time at my disposal to find the floor or pavement which should exist in front of the wall: this was left for the next season's excavation, and was reached by Mr. Woolley, when that

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 24.

excavation was possible in 1923. He found it, a floor of white lime plaster, with a fragment of brick pavement, and a perpendicular sink or drain at the south-east corner.

'We were, too, up against a solid brick mass projecting from the burnt-brick wall face which I regarded as part of the superincumbent later platform, but which Mr. Woolley has shewn to be a ramp stairway ascending in the middle of the south-east face of the platform (see Figs. 242–3). It would have been interesting for me, had I gone on, to discover that my building of al-'Ubaid was built on precisely the same plan as the forepart of the XIth

241.—THE IMDUGUD RELIEF LEAVING AL-'UBAID
(*Left to right:* Jagan Nath, Tamil Sepoys, Daūd Ramazān, Ḥasan Taḥsin, Ibrahim 'Ali, Turk, 'Amrān, Turks)

Dynasty Temple at Dair al-baḥri in Egypt, which I had found in November 1903 when digging with M. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund. There also there was a platform with a ramp ascending the middle of one of its faces, but one far more discoverable than that at al-'Ubaid, since it was cut out of solid rock and faced with stone. I came up against it that season, but the next season (Oct. 1904) when I came out to direct the work in M. Naville's absence till January, I was enabled to dig it out and descend beyond it. At al-'Ubaid that opportunity was denied me by circumstances, nor did I know that a ramp existed till Mr. Woolley identified it, dug it out and descended beyond it to find his *cache* of copper

objects, some like, some unlike, mine, which he has described in Chapter V, of *Al-'Ubaid.*[1]

He found in his season's work of 1923–4 copper bull-figures also, and the frieze of recumbent copper bulls or heifers, already mentioned, as well as the splendid copper and stone relief of the 'Milking Scene', in which men are seen milking cows,[2] as well as processions of bulls

242.—AIR VIEW OF AL-'UBAID FROM EAST, SHEWING SCENE OF THE FINDS OF 1919, WITH STAIR-RAMP, ETC., FOUND BY WOOLLEY IN 1923

inlaid in shell and stone on a copper background, and of stone birds (ducks?) similarly inlaid, which are among the precious possessions of the museums of London, Philadelphia and Baghdad, but no lions. He has completed the excavation of the building, planned it, and devised a reconstruction of it which is reproduced in Plate xxxviii of *Al-'Ubaid.*

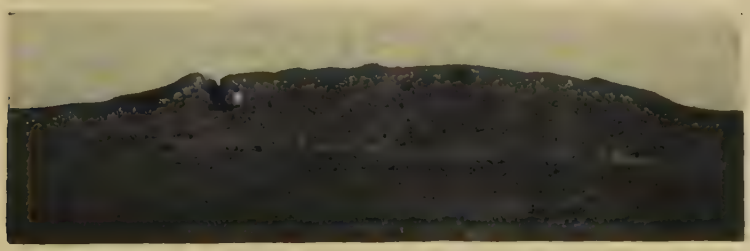
[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 25.

[2] Woolley, *ibid.*, Pl. xxxi.

The outline of the building was traced by me. Following the wall northward, we continued round the north-west face (Fig. 244), from

243.—AIR VIEW OF AL-'UBAID, FROM NORTH: 1925

which projected a curious combined buttress and drain of brick, and so round to the south-west face. Here the panelled wall ceased abruptly,



244.—AL-'UBAID FROM THE NORTH-WEST: 1919

and was continued by a plain wall of large plano-convex burnt bricks laid in thick courses of the usual grey mortar. Beyond this we came to a stone stairway, built of courses of gypsum slabs roughly laid on

a mud-brick ramp: there were seven treads overlapping one another and measuring nearly 2 m. long by 25 cm. in height and width (Fig. 245).

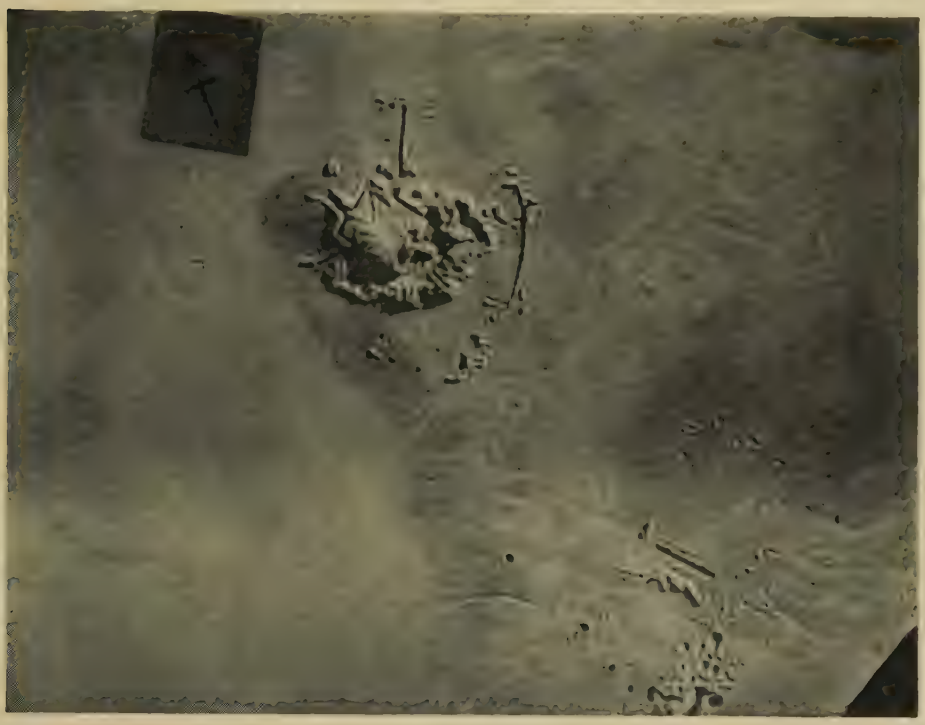
'Mr. Woolley's excavations of 1923–4, completing mine, have shown that the building was a small temple on a platform of crude brick, of which the burnt-brick wall I began to excavate was the revetment, approached by a central ramp or stairway, which was set very much awry to the platform, itself so badly laid out that its outer wall is extremely asymmetrical: no one angle is the same as another, and the south-east face, where the ramp is, races away southward quite out of alignment with the opposite north-west face (see air-view and plan, Figs. 246–7). The whole building measures about 110 feet (33·5 m.) long by 75 feet (22·8 m.) wide. Above it had been built a tiered platform of large oblong crude bricks, above which is a pavement (?) of burnt bricks, measuring 11½ by 8 by 2½ inches (29·2 by 20·3 by 6·3 cm.)', stamped by the later king Shulgi of Ur (*c.* 2300 B.C.). This platform, which may have been intended as the base of a small ziggurrat (?) to be placed on the razed ancient building (there is no doubt that it must have been razed for Shulgi's purpose, as the height of the ancient wall is the same all round), has disappeared except at the south-east end.

245.—THE STONE STAIRWAY, 1919

'Its bricks are interesting on account of the preservation of them, apparently as a more or less decorative feature, of two holes side by side in the centre of one face. In the more ancient plano-convex bricks these are placed diagonally across the convex face in such a position that they seem clearly to be devised for the purpose of carrying the brick, by the insertion of thumb and forefinger, when it was wet. They may also have filled the function of affording a grip to the bitumen "mortar". In Shulgi's bricks they have evidently lost their original function and have become mere ornaments (Fig. 81).'[1]

[1] Hall, *al-'Ubaid*, p. 14.

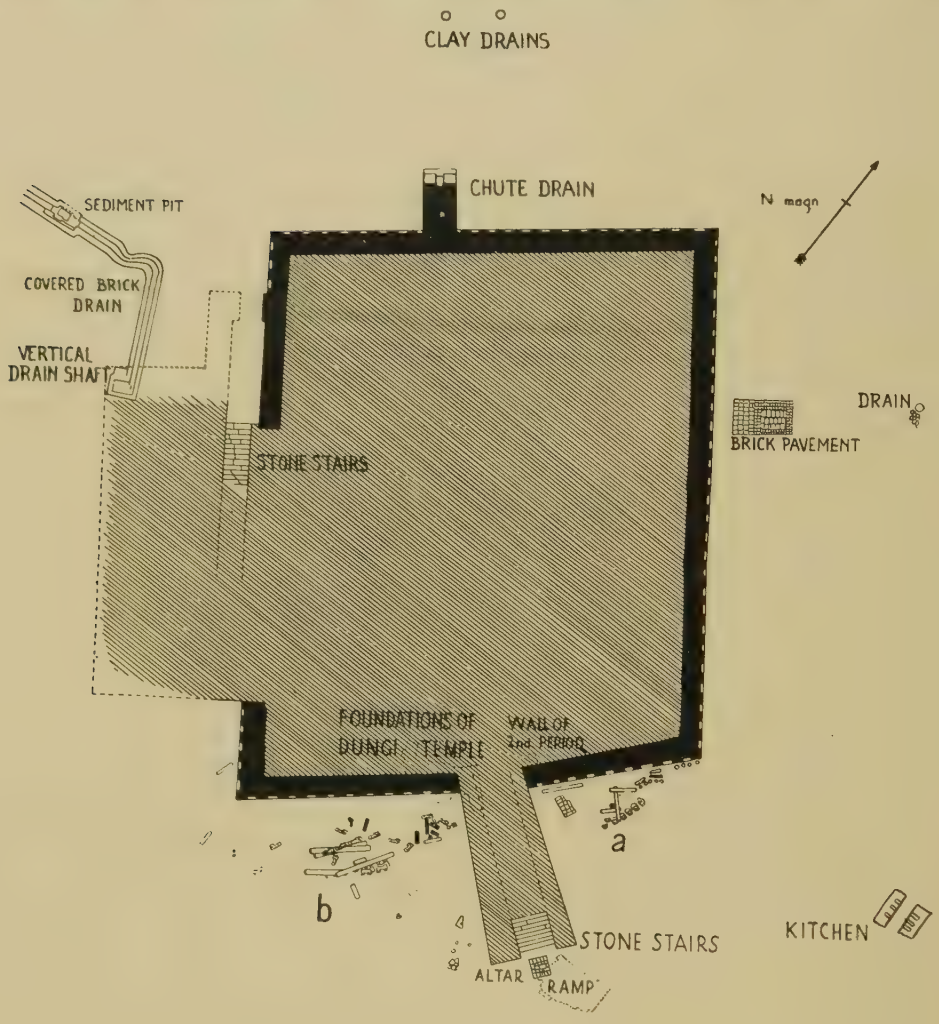
Mr. Woolley found al-'Ubaid just as I had left it. His trophies are divided between the British Museum, the Pennsylvania University Museum at Philadelphia, and the new Baghdad Museum, since his expeditions have been jointly financed and commissioned by the Trustees of the British Museum and the Pennsylvania University Museum. Mine are all in the British Museum, since I was sent out by the British Museum alone, and the Baghdad Museum did not then exist. My discoveries at al-'Ubaid compelled me to seek a decision as to the ultimate fate of the



246.—VERTICAL AIR-VIEW OF AL-'UBAID

antiquities I had found, and on Sir Arnold Wilson's return from Europe in May (he had paid a flying visit to the Peace Conference in Paris to discuss questions concerning 'Iraq), the matter was promptly decided by him in favour of their being sent to England. 'Iraq had then no possible means of housing antiquities of any kind, even stone reliefs, properly, much less of undertaking the complicated process of repairing and conserving the kind of antiquities I had found, with their fast oxidizing copper, which needed to be treated by experts in Europe if they were to survive for

science, and could not be brought back to 'Iraq after treatment because they would all come to pieces again on the journey if they were, and could not be put together again, for the second time, in 'Iraq. Now, however, that a proper Museum has, by the exertions of the late Miss Gertrude Bell



247.—PLAN OF AL-'UBAID: 1923
a, Finds of 1919; *b*, Finds of 1923–4.

and Mr. J. M. Wilson, then Director of Public Works, been established in Baghdad, the case is altered. Objects of antiquity can now properly remain in 'Iraq, and many of the finest trophies of Mr. Woolley's recent work at Ur find their last resting-place in their own country. Still, how-

ever, remains the scientific necessity that objects needing skilful treatment and restoration shall remain abroad, since Baghdad has not yet developed the necessary expert technique. Very odd seemed the idea of some Indian officials that my finds should go to India (where they could not possibly be treated so expertly as in England), apparently because the Indian army had taken so large a part in the conquest of the country from the Turks. The conception was the crude one of 'trophies', 'souvenirs' on the grand scale, like guns, or like the so-called 'Gates of Somnath', which Lord Elphinstone brought back from Ghazni. There was no idea of the necessities and demands of archaeological science, though there may have been some vague notion (like that in the heads of the Indian soldiers) that these things had somewhat to do with the deities and attendant beasts of the Hindu pantheon. It was so abundantly evident, however, that my finds would not stand much transport and would have to be most carefully treated and pût together on their arrival at their destination that the impracticable idea of India never formally materialized. The only debatable point was whether they should remain in 'Iraq, and until Sir Arnold Wilson's return I found a disinclination to decide the matter at Baghdad, and on one occasion had to send an enormously long telegram to Political Headquarters which gave chapter and verse for the faith that was in me without sparing a syllable, so determined was I that I should be understood. The acknowledgment requested Captain Hall to 'kindly reduce his telegrams to reasonable length'. But I had scored my point, had demonstrated my sweet-reasonableness, and Sir Arnold, who returned soon after, promptly decided the matter in my favour, as I have said. I could then pack everything up solidly for the long sea-voyage. On 16 May camp was broken up at al-'Ubaid, and I returned to my old quarters under the shadow of the tower of al-Muqayyar, and proceeded to pack rest of the al-'Ubaid objects in the week that remained to me before I finally took leave of Ur.

On the whole they stood the journey back to England better than I, with the primitive methods of packing at my disposal, had feared. The Imdugud relief especially suffered little, and has been admirably restored by Mr. W. J. Beck, late sculptor-formatore attached to the Victoria and Albert Museum, under my supervision, and is at present (1930) exhibited in the Babylonian Room of the British Museum, over a door, in a position analogous to, but necessarily higher than, that which it may originally have occupied.

It looks smaller there than it would were it on the eye-line, but possibly it was intended to be seen from below. Whether the Sumerians conceived the idea of modifying its proportions in any way to fit it to be seen in this position is doubtful, though the Greeks and moderns would do that. The bodies of the stags in the Imdugud relief are, it is true, impossibly lengthened, but this was, I think, merely in order to make them fit the vacant place beneath the eagle's wings in due heraldic style, the lion-head of Imdugud forming the apex of the design raised somewhat above the frame, while the two stags balance one another on either side, and their antlers, projecting beyond the sides of the frame, carry out the same idea at the sides as the Imdugud head above. The only absolutely complete restoration in the group is the lion-head of Imdugud, which is modelled after one of the smaller leopard heads described on p. 246. Mr. Woolley has suggested that the bird was two-headed, and that perhaps the two 'leopard' heads (Fig. 227) belong to it. But they seem too small, and a two-headed Imdugud, though not absolutely unknown, is a great rarity. Two-headed eagles are not rare, but the two-headed lion-eagle is.[1] So it seemed safer to restore the figure as one-headed. The other restorations are part of the antler of one stag (Fig. 248), the head and antlers of the other stag (modelled on the first, since its original collapsed soon after discovery), and the ears and feet of both stags. The wings, body, and claws of Imdugud were in fragments, but easily put together. The rest of the relief, including much of the frame and the bodies and legs of the stags, was intact, and needed no restoration at all, as the photographs shew (Figs. 237, 238).[2]

These metal figures, with those found by Mr. Woolley later, are of great importance in the history of art, since possibly they were among the earliest attempts, at any rate in Babylonia, to represent animals in metal on a large scale. Their inequality is very noticeable. Side by side we find

[1] Hall, *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 23, *n.* 4; Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, 1927, p. 205, *n.* 1. Only one double-headed example seems certain.

[2] I wish to make this clear, as Mr. Woolley, on p. 91 of his recently published book, *Ur of the Chaldees*, is inadvertently a little unkind to the Imdugud relief, when he says 'the great copper relief, of which only one stag's head was recovered intact, had to be reconstructed from fragments, and in several respects, the reconstruction was open to doubt.' Much more than the head of one stag was recovered intact, and in view of the other well-known representations of Imdugud, the reconstruction is obviously only open to doubt in one respect —the matter of the single or double lion-head. The relief travelled excellently, and we had much less journey-damages to repair and restore than I expected.

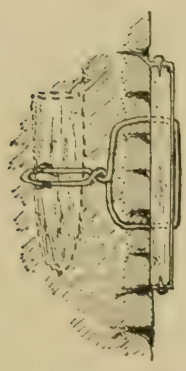
the really very fine lion-heads, Mr. Woolley's admirable bulls, and the crude heads of birds. The excellence of the heads of the stags (Fig. 248) in the Imdugud relief hardly prepares us for the badness of their bodies, whose exaggerated length makes their legs, otherwise more or less correct in size, appear stumpy. The conception of Imdugud is excellent, but his talons grasping the tails of the stags are extremely crude and clumsy. The method of securing the copper to the wood and bitumen backing is also very clumsy, with its rough nailing and its twisted bronze ties, which are well seen in the Imdugud relief and have been explained by Mr. Woolley (Fig. 249). The stag-antlers are made of wrought copper rod of half-inch square section, each branch-tine being carefully brazed on to that from which it rises.

248.—STAG'S HEAD FROM THE IMDUGUD RELIEF

The circumstances of this find much resemble that of the deposit of copper statues and other objects found in 1896 by Mr. J. E. Quibell and Mr. F. W. Green at Kom al-aḥmar (Hierakōnpolis), opposite al-Kab in Egypt, and dating from the Ist to the VIth Dynasty (3200 to 2500 B.C.); and comparisons can well be made between the copper figures from al-'Ubaid and the copper statues of King Pepi (of the VIth Dynasty) and his son from Kom al-aḥmar in the Cairo Museum. There is in both cases the technique of hammered plates secured by nails to a wooden core, and it would be interesting to have the opinion of those best qualified to judge as to whether the face of Pepi's son, at any rate, is not cast, like the smaller bull-heads at Ur.

The workmanship of the Egyptian figures is much finer. The clumsy bodies of the bulls and stags from al-'Ubaid give the impression of greater antiquity, and as a matter of fact they are at least five centuries older. If we now possessed the copper statue of King Kha'sekhemui of the IIIrd Dynasty (*c.* 3000 B.C.) which, we know from the Palermo Stone, was made in his reign, and gave the official name to the year in which it

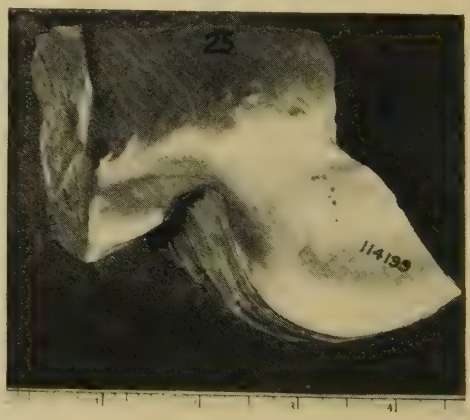
was made, we should have been able to draw a truer parallel between Egyptian and Sumerian copper works of art in the fourth millennium B.C., and it would have been interesting to see whether the Egyptian figure repeated the crudities we see in the early Sumerian metal-work from al-'Ubaid (*c.* 3100 B.C.).



249. — COPPER TIES FASTENING COPPER PLATES TO WOOD AND BITUMEN BACKING

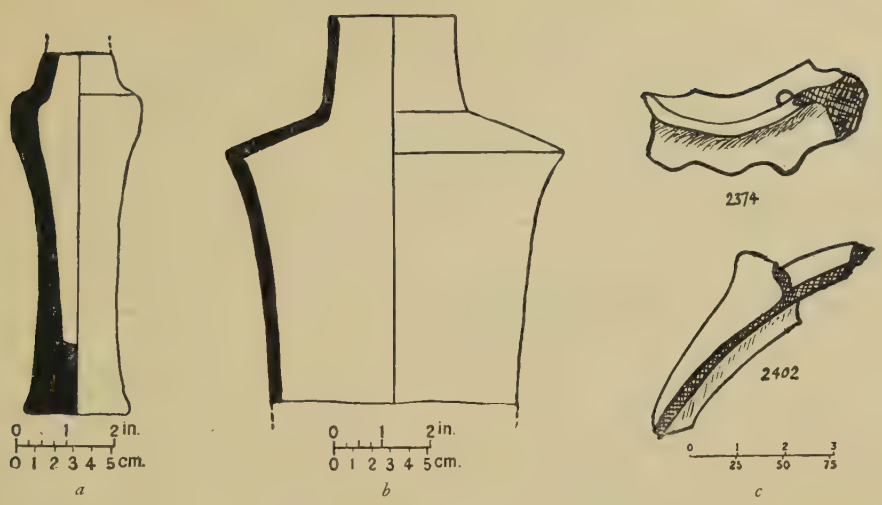
The Sumerians of the older period at al-'Ubaid, and the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom, lived in the Copper Age. The Sumerians were nearer than the Egyptians to the great focus of early metal-working in Armenia and the Caucasus region, the land of Tubal-Cain and the Chalybes, where the first invention of bronze very probably took place, so that they possibly used bronze before the Egyptians. And Mr. Woolley considers that bronze was already used at Ur in the early Sumerian period, though not at al-'Ubaid. This, however, remains to be proved.

Of the smaller objects found with the lions, the only ones of special interest, besides the pillars and the flower-cones, were a mother-of-pearl shell cut for the making of plaques (Fig. 250); some plain drab and reddish pottery of the Sumerian period (Figs. 251–2), among it what are evidently fragments of drainpipes (Fig. 253); rare fragments of a degenerate style of painted pottery (Fig. 209); fragments of stone vessels, and a white limestone head of a duck belonging to one of Mr. Woolley's bird-friezes; a part of a rounded bar of elephant ivory cased in copper, and a fragment of a vase of a green chlorite schist precisely like the 'potstone' still used in India for making pots and bowls:[1] a comparison possibly important in view of the early connexion between Babylonia and India, which has been revealed by the discoveries



250.—MOTHER-OF-PEARL SHELL USED FOR MAKING PLAQUES

[1] The ivory was identified by Mr. A. T. Holwood, M.Sc.; the potstone by Mr. W. Campbell Smith, of the British Museum (Natural History).

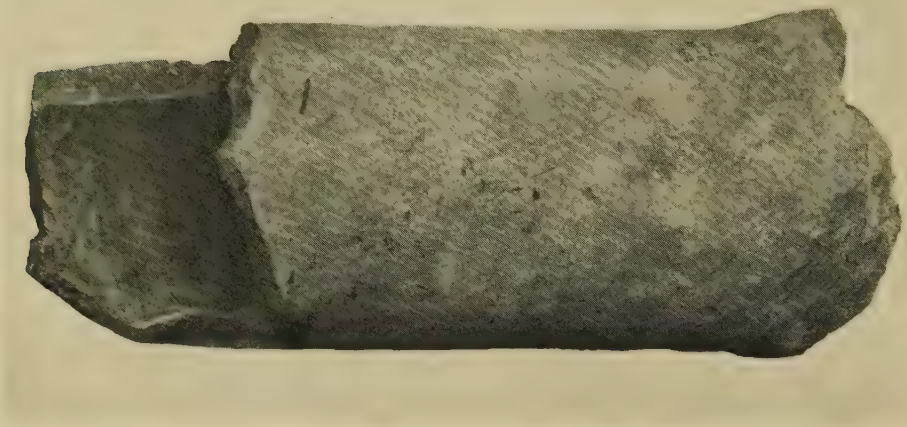


251.—SUMERIAN POTTERY: AL-'UBAID, 1919 (BRIT. MUS.

at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and confirmed by recent finds at Ur and elsewhere in Babylonia. The little seals with intaglio figures of bulls

252.—SUMERIAN POTTERY: AL-'UBAID, 1919

with an unknown (Indian) script, found both at Harappa and in Babylonia, have now been supplemented by the discovery by Mr. Woolley at Ur of a similar seal with a very early cuneiform inscription.[1] The full bearing of



253.—A SUMERIAN DRAINPIPE: AL-'UBAID

the discovery of this 'Indus' civilization on the early history of the Near East cannot yet be estimated. It is possible that the Indus culture is older even than the Sumerian, as this is probably older than the Egyptian.[2]

254.—PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY: AL-'UBAID

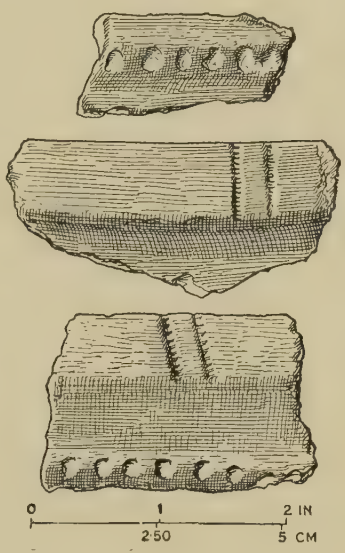
Of the surface-finds, the prehistoric pottery (Figs. 199 and 254) is, as has been said, precisely like that of Shahrain described on p. 195, perhaps at al-'Ubaid more fragments with one particular type of design have

[1] Woolley, *Antiq. Journ.*, 1928, p. 26. (Brit. Mus., No. 120573.)

[2] For a summary of the Indian finds, see V. G. Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, ch. IX. On the probable relative age of the Egyptian and Sumerian civilizations, see Hall, 'The Discoveries at Ur and the seniority of Sumerian Civilization', in *Antiquity*, 1928, p. 56 ff.; and cf. p. 98, above.

been found than at Shahrain: there is probably more variety there. What has been said in *Al-'Ubaid*, pp. 45–7 of the al-'Ubaid designs, need not be repeated here: a full list of motives with illustrations is given there. A peculiar crude ware with punctated and rugate incised ornament, of coarse pottery in which small stones are mixed, is probably prehistoric (Fig. 255). The same may be said of the other small surface-objects, of which a full list will also be found in that work.

The relation of these surface-finds to the mound has been explained by Mr. Woolley's discovery in 1924 of the prehistoric settlement and cemetery to which they belonged, having been washed out of the graves by the rains. Mr. Woolley has found complete pots of the prehistoric painted ware (Fig. 254) and a number of skulls and bones that have been described by Sir Arthur Keith in a special appendix to *Al-'Ubaid*, to which reference should be made. Mr. Woolley gives in that book a complete list of the graves and their contents, with sketches of the bodies as found, so far as they had been preserved. In 'Iraq bones are never preserved as they are in Egypt, and usually only the skulls are recoverable intact.



255.—CRUDE UNPAINTED WARE, PREHISTORIC (?): AL-'UBAID, 1919

It is evident that the older part of this cemetery belonged to the most ancient inhabitants of Ur and its neighbourhood, and the later part was contemporary with the temple when no village-settlement continued to exist: temple and cemetery alone remained. This cemetery was a centre of the worship of Nin-khursag, 'Mistress of the Mountain', goddess of the dead, who was also a mother-goddess, just like Hathor in Egypt. And like her the cow was her special animal. Mr. Gadd, in his most interesting chapter on the subject in *Al-'Ubaid*, pp. 143–6, describes her worship and its relation to the temple and cemeteries of al-'Ubaid and to Ur as follows: with his permission and that of the Trustees, I quote his words *in extenso*:

'The most usual symbol of Nin-khursag is the cow, and nowhere has this received more striking illustration than in the copper reliefs of al-'Ubaid. At Lagash the goddess possessed a

sacred cattle-farm, which the piety of Eannatum enriched, and it may be presumed that the cattle at Ur were kept in the immediate neighbourhood of her temple. It is, indeed, a scene of life upon this farm which is depicted in the limestone relief of the milkers, where it is not unreasonable to see also, in the filtering, a preparation of the "holy milk of Nin-khursag" destined for the nourishment of kings and priests. . . . Though there is no direct evidence, all analogy would lead to the belief that at least once a year the goddess set out from al-'Ubaid upon a boat to sail along the stream to Ur where her nuptials with the Moon-god would be celebrated. Such was the universal custom of divine marriages in Babylonia, best described in a hymn to the goddess Ninkarrak of Isin, which tells the order of her procession, and the ceremonies which greeted her upon her arrival at Nippur for her marriage to the god Pabilsag. . . . The relative situations of al-'Ubaid and Ur are admirably conformable with this description, which the view from al-'Ubaid, with the broad stream-bed still visible, running thence along beside the "Nabonidus Gate" and the ziggurat of Ur, brings irresistibly to mind. . . . One other question, suggested by the situation of al-'Ubaid in the country outside Ur, may be raised but cannot at present be answered: was this temple the permanent residence of the goddess, or only a place of her occasional resort? It is well known that among the principal religious festivals of the year in all the great Babylonian cities was that which bore the name of *akitu*, the essential feature of which was a procession of the god or goddess, generally by water, to a temple outside the city, at which were enacted certain ceremonies of a nature at present unknown. . . . At Ur an *akitu* festival was celebrated, as at Erech, in spring and autumn, and it is possible that the second of these was in honour of the mother-goddess. If this were so, it can only be said that the temple at al-'Ubaid is not unsuitably situated to be the *akitu*-chapel visited on this occasion; but there is, in fact, no definite evidence upon this point, and the suggestion is to be regarded as no more than a possibility.

'So far the character of Nin-khursag has been considered in the aspects which give meaning to certain of the ornaments, as well as to the situation, of her temple. The latter is involved also, however, in considering the other discovery at al-'Ubaid, namely, that this place was the centre of extensive cemeteries. Such a fact is evidently more than accidental; if the early inhabitants of Ur chose this as their burying-ground it must have been on account of some peculiar fitness of the site for this purpose. First to be observed is that the cemetery is situated some four miles west-north-west of Ur. To one standing within the sacred area of the Moon-god's temple it would lie directly behind the mass of the ziggurat, which itself stands in the western corner of the temenos, a position which such buildings almost invariably occupy. Now it is well known that the Babylonians, like the Egyptians, conceived of the realm of the dead as lying in the west, doubtless because it was in that quarter that the sun was observed to set every evening. That the ziggurats had in some sense, as yet uncertain, the character of a divine tomb seems to emerge no less surely from the tradition that Marduk, during his affliction, was imprisoned "in the mountain" (of the dead) than from the direct statement of Strabo that the ziggurat of Babylon was the "Tomb of Belos". But it was not only in situation that al-'Ubaid was adapted to be the cemetery of Ur, but in the nature of the goddess who presided over the place. To assert that her name "Lady of the Mountain" meant that Nin-khursag was the goddess of all those who had "reached their mountain" (*i.e.*, were dead), and that the deity of al-'Ubaid was therefore primarily a goddess of the dead and of the underworld, could not, indeed, be sustained by any proof. She has, however, more essential connexion with the underworld than a doubtful reference of her name to that region. It has already been observed that Nin-khursag is but one of the names belonging to the "Great Goddess" who was worshipped, with little variation of doctrine and rite, in all the cities of Sumer. Mother of gods and creator of men, she was in particular the mother (and often represented also as the wife) of the young god whose annual death was the theme of universal lamentations, and the cause of all fertility leaving the earth in his absence. . . .

In the celebrated poem of the "descent of Ishtar" it is related that the goddess passed into the underworld in order to seek for Tammuz, and to bring him back to life, which boon she finally obtained from Ereshkigal, the mistress of the "land without return". The mother-goddess, then, is not only she who stood in the closest relation to the dying god, as mother, wife, or sister, but she who goes in search of him in the underworld and finally restores him to shed life again upon all the creatures of the earth. This beneficent activity was commemorated in one of the epithets to the "Great Goddess", who is called "she that gives life to the dead", which may be interpreted literally, as well as in the sense of healing those who are sick unto death. That this also was in the power of the "Great Goddess" appears from another epithet which she bears, "the great physician", in accordance with which a suppliant prays to her "forasmuch as it is with thee to bring to life and health". . . . Conversely, the same goddess had it in her power to afflict with the most direful maladies. . . . The goddess who (like Hathor in the Theban necropolis) dwelt in the midst of the dead at al-'Ubaid, was at once universal mother, wife of the god with whose annual death all nature loses its vigour, traveller to the underworld to seek the vanished god, and restorer of the sick to health, and of the dead to life. In these beliefs there seems to lie ample reason for the presence of cemeteries at al-'Ubaid—the west is the land of the dead, and there they are buried about the shrine of Nin-khursag, the goddess who was able to rescue them from the underworld and from the death which had overtaken them.'

Note.—In a recent work, *Die Kultur um den Persischen Golf*, by Amalia Hertz, which has appeared as a supplement to *Klio* (1930), the authoress says with regard to the Imdugud relief that 'nach Hall macht es den Eindruck, als ob die Hirsche erst später in das Relief eingesetzt worden sind, das ursprünglich nur den Imgig enthielt' (p. 36). The reference, which is not specified, is presumably to a passage in *Al-'Ubaid*, which however has been misunderstood, as I have never supposed that the relief 'gives the impression that the stags were a later insertion into the relief, which originally contained Imgig (*i.e.*, Imdugud) only.' I have never thought so and I have never said so. What I did say was (*Al-'Ubaid*, p. 29) that 'probably the designer modelled his Imgig first and constructed his frame, and then had to accommodate the stags to the shape of the space available for them,' which is a very different thing. The German version gives the impression of two processes separated from one another in time: I spoke of only one process, in which the dimensions of the frame were decided and the bird modelled first, so that the stags had to fill the space left: the relief was not originally (ursprünglich) intended to have no stags at all, as the German mistranslation implies.

CHAPTER IX

FROM UR TO LONDON *VIÂ* JERUSALEM AND DAIR AL-BAḤRI

MY last week at Ur was occupied in packing, aided by my seven Turkish carpenters, reinforced by a couple of Sikhs from Baṣrah, while an architect-officer sent from Baghdad, Lieut. O. D. O'Sullivan, R.E., made, with the help of an Indian surveyor, the first modern general survey of the mounds and the first proper plan of the temple-building 'B', of which I had been able to make only provisional plans myself. The Turks still went on with the clearance of the ziggurrat-face and building 'B'. We had begun packing quite early, on 24 March, in a leisurely way and when opportunity offered. The Shahrain and al-'Ubaid finds had been packed on the spot for their long journey to England to save time and trouble: they would have to be packed to go to Ur, so the work was done once and for all. The matter of their destination had been settled at al-'Ubaid (p. 267). All sorts of old boxes were hurried up from the railway stores at Ur Junction and strengthened by battens and botched into shape, with Japanese beer-boxes from the military canteen there and at Naṣirīyyah, and even some warped old boxes of Koldewey's from Babylon that had carried our tools and camp necessaries from Hillah were pressed into service to bring back our antiquities to England. My nine carpenters wielded their adzes, axes, and hammers with devastating effect under the direction of the genial Ibrahim 'Ali, and though the results of their willing labour were sometimes remarkable, and could hardly be described as fine cabinet-making, at any rate they brought the things safely to the British Museum. 'Amrān and I did most of the actual packing ourselves. I had, of course, as all excavators do, carefully preserved all my matchboxes and other small boxes, tobacco-tins, &c., while even discarded biscuit-tins and fruit-cans from Australia and Japan had

been saved for this final use of packing small objects. Cotton-wool was valuable for medical purposes, and difficult to obtain, wood-wool unobtainable and wadding rare, but I got great quantities of cotton-waste from the railway people. Straw we could get, but most of our packing was done with the aid of the desert-sage and other plants torn up from the soil around us. It acted well, but it harboured insects of all kinds, and much to the astonishment of the Museum workmen when they unpacked in the vaults of Bloomsbury, many unknown entomological specimens appeared to view—beetles, flies, and various odd creatures, that had survived the journey: no doubt they had found plenty to live on in the packing, and Turkish carpentry had allowed plenty of air to reach them. The two Indian chauffeurs, superior in their knowledge of Western writing, painted the address of the Director of the British Museum on the boxes in sprawling childish capitals, and even Ibrahim 'Ali gave an intelligent anticipation of the reform of the Ghazi Pasha ten years later by evincing an unexpected ability to paint European letters. Sergeant-Major Webb shook his head over the remarkable results of Indo-Turkish carpentry and calligraphy, but the whole outfit delighted me, and I would not have had their efforts, done with real good-will and enjoyment, bettered for worlds.

So the last week went by, hectic and hot, each day more uncomfortable than the last as heat increased or seemed to increase, and the camp was gradually dismantled over one's head. On 24 May all the boxes, headed by Ibrahim 'Ali's *chef-d'oeuvre*, the great box containing the Imdugud relief, which he had completed at al-'Ubaid, were entrained at the nearest point on the railway for Baṣrah, the last group-photographs were taken, and I returned for one solitary and blazing Sunday under the shadow of the ziggurrat, amid a confusion of old boxes, planks, and shavings, the remains of the packing, to receive the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir George MacMunn, and take him out to al-'Ubaid. I was sorry that I had not been able to shew him the work in full swing. He left and then my tent, the last, was taken down and returned to store at Naṣirīyyah, and with my cook, 'Amrān, the raïses, and the chauffeurs, I went down for the night to Ur Junction, where I had a farewell dinner with my good and kind friends of the railway mess. Next day, our whole company, Turks and all, went down by the night train to Baṣrah, accompanied by the Fords and their chauffeurs, to be returned to Ma'qil.

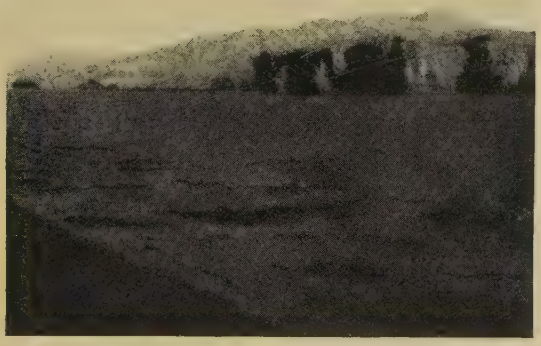
At Baṣrah there was much to do in settling up odd accounts, writing reports, and arranging for the transport of our boxes to England. I stopped at the River Front Hotel, built since my arrival in the previous December; is it the hotel not long ago burnt down? The club was hospitable; Colonel A. L. Gordon-Walker, the Political Officer, and General Sutton were kind. The latter kindly allowed me now, since I was certainly demobilized, to wear civilian clothes, which I did with great content. Although I had got thin uniform at Bombay on the way out, I was glad of the leave to don the tropical-weight 'civvies' that I had brought with me from England, but which it would have been impossible for me to wear, even had I been allowed, up-country, where an un-uniformed Englishman was a contradiction in terms, unless he was a *bara sahib* from India or an unattached cleric. On 30 May the antiquities were transferred by my best Turks from the railway depôt in a *mahailah* (Fig. 256) to Messrs. Strick Scott's steamer *Albistan*, and next day, bidding farewell to the General, the Political Officer, the sergeant-major, 'Abdu'l-Ghani, the Turkish N.C.O.'s, and the raïses, I left on my old friend *Chakdarra* for Bombay. 'Amrān and the other raïses returned by Tigris steamer to Babylon *viâ* Baghdad, in charge of boxes of all the objects lent me for the work, to be returned to the care of the A.P.O. at Ḥillah. 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Jagan Nath returned to their units, the Turks to their base-camp. My 'Portuguese' fidalgo accompanied me to Bombay. The dig was over; my mission completed.

256.—BOXES OF ANTIQUITIES ON A MAHAILAH AT BAṢRAH

We passed Mohammerah and its white wedding-cake palace of the Shaikh, 'Abbadan and its hideous gasometer-like oil storage-tanks, in extreme heat. There were some delightful Indian Frontier officers on board, with whom I swapped yarns of Crete with those of India; they

invited me to come and compare Crete with the Border, but that cannot be. Terribly hot for two days in the Gulf; the awful rocks of Musandam looked red-hot, and Elphinstone Inlet seemed verily a mouth of hell. No wonder the telegraph post there had to be abandoned. Is it not the hottest place on earth, beating even Jacobabad? It looked it, with its bare fjord-side, utterly treeless, glaring, horrible (Fig. 258). On 3 June a sudden change in the weather: it was cool for the first time for over a month. Next day, in the Indian Ocean, rough, and bad weather coming: we sleepers on deck awoke to a pitch and a roll that sent us sliding on our mattresses to the gunwale.

257.—AMRĀN AND 'ABDU'L-GHANI AT 'ASHSHAR (BAṢRAH)



258.—ELPHINSTONE INLET

On the 5th we were in the tail of a cyclone, that luckily we had just missed. The sky was leaden, and in the evening lightning-reflections played about the rim of our watery world; the seas went roaring past us and heaved us aloft and then let us slide down with the screw whirring and rattling vainly in the air. Next day we reached Bombay. The mountains were shrouded in heavy cloud; it was stiflingly, stuffily hot, very different from the splendid quiet heat of the previous December. Then in the night the rain began: the monsoon had broken. With but a slight intermission for part of a day it rained, or seemed to rain, con-

tinuously for five days and five nights. I now for the first time saw real rain. Even Norwegian experiences had not prepared me for this. No mackintosh or Burberry on earth could prevent me or anybody else from being wet through in five minutes. And it did not seem to matter: at least I felt no ill effects. I had to go out to try to arrange my passage home (a fruitless daily errand at first): otherwise I was marooned in my hotel. The possibility that I might any day anyhow receive my embarkation order prevented an excursion to Poona, which I longed to make, still more made any visit to the frescoed caves of Ajanta impossible. And so daily I went down to the docks after my passage. And now steamers came in heavily damaged in the cyclone of which we had experienced only the tail-end: bulwarks torn away, bridges wrecked, told the tale of what a cyclone in the Indian Ocean can do. But everybody was pressing, pushing, fighting for his passage home. The Army was in the full tide of demobilization: every boat was crowded. Any and every kind of boat that could swim and steam was pressed into the service. One was an extraordinary little steamer that hailed from Hongkong: a local Chinese-waters boat that the war had brought west out of her proper seas. She had two tall funnels side by side, and would have looked rather like a Mississippi river-steamer but that she was so low in the water and had no rocking-beam. I embarked on a conveyance that inspired more confidence, the s.s. *Elephanta*.

In *Elephanta* at last I sailed on 15 June, parting on the wharf from the faithful Sousa and his unauthorized memento of me, my dress-jacket, which he had extracted from my trunk for me to use in the hotel. I had to put uniform on again in *Elephanta*. Twelve uneventful days she took to get to Suez, though she stayed neither at Aden nor elsewhere. I quite agreed with Dr. Johnson that a man on board ship is a man in jail, with the chance of being drowned as well. But our lumbering she-elephant did get there eventually, on 26 June, and the first thing I saw at Port Taufik was my little friend from Hongkong. I was glad I had not been sent in her, nevertheless.

The mountains of the Eastern Desert and of Sinai looked finer, but more unearthly than ever as we slowly steamed up the Gulf. And then old friend Egypt again, but this time not so friendly as usual. Things had happened, and were happening, and everybody seemed in a state of subdued excitement: there was hysteria in the air. The year 1919 was critical in Egypt as well as in India: the repercussion of trouble had not

yet reached 'Iraq, but was to do so next year. In April had occurred the Beduin trouble in the Fayyūm and the massacre of British officers in the train near Dair Mawās, a foolish crime by childish, semi-idiotic fellahīn, soon heavily avenged. It passes the wit of Western man to guess what the Muslim thinks he is going to achieve by killing isolated Europeans or Jews. Fierce reprisals inevitably follow, and the Muslim always gets very much the worst of it in the long run; whereas if he would only keep his stupid hands from killing he would acquire a reputation for moderation that would stand him in good stead at the council-table of the nations.

In June things were still distinctly jumpy. Out of uniform one did not seem particularly popular. I landed at Suez in mufti, but met with so much rudeness from the effendis at the station that when in the train I quickly changed to uniform, and arrived at Qántara as an officer again, with greatly improved results. In Cairo later as I walked one day from the 'Atabet al-Khadra down the Shara' Muḥammad 'Ali to the Citadel in civilian clothes, my nationality was guessed by some sitters outside a café, who gave me black looks, and one said to the other 'Here's another of the cockroaches!' The atmosphere was distinctly hostile. Happily matters are different now.

I had to don uniform again in order to get to Jerusalem. My commission empowered me to go there, and I was expected to go there. But the only military authority capable of giving me leave to go there was myself. Demobilized or not, I was still attached to the Political Service in Mesopotamia, but there was no other officer of that service in Egypt so far as I knew, so that I was my own senior officer, and gave myself my movement order from Qántara to Jerusalem, which an amused Australian R.T.O. passed without question. I had a pretty uncomfortable night swaying and wobbling over the desert of Sin, as the line curved and sagged between the dunes. And the whole train was crowded with nondescript officers and civilians. At Ludd, a change into a train of old French carriages drawn by an elderly L.S.W.R. 0-6-0 goods engine of the same type that I had seen at Baghdad, which, however weak it might look, took the ascent into the land of Judah most gallantly and steamed steadily up the gradient and round curves (Fig. 259) until it had deposited us safely at the Holy City.

There the Administrator in charge of O.E.T.S. ('Occupied Enemy

Territory South'), Major-General Sir A. W. Money, and Lady Money received me most kindly at the Residency, the old German Hospiz, with its tower on the Mount of Olives, since badly damaged by earthquake (Fig. 261). I ascended the horrible empty interior of the tower, with its staircase going up round and round, with but a single handrail between you and nothingness; and, after admiring the view, came down safely by dint of keeping my face steadily to the wall. I saw the chapel with its remarkable mosaic of the Kaiser and Kaiserin, and wished that nevertheless it could be used, so fine and spacious is it, for the English Church service in reinforcement of the rather poky little cathedral of St. George. And I sampled the famous mulberries in the garden. I dealt faithfully with those mulberries.

259.—THE ASCENT TO JERUSALEM

260.—A STREET IN JERUSALEM

My business in Jerusalem was to inquire into archaeological possibilities following the British occupation. The Administrator explained that nothing whatever could be set on foot pending the proper organization of the government. Meanwhile I could note possibilities and report on them to the British Museum or any other home authority. Some work was already being done by the

Pro-Jerusalem Society, under the inspection of the Governor, Brigadier-General (now Sir) Ronald Storrs, whose keen interest in and knowledge of the antiquities of the Eastern lands with whose destinies he has been and is now (in Cyprus) concerned have always been great, and are of the greatest service to archaeology. For the Society, Mr. C. R. Ashbee, Civic Adviser, was busy with the planning of the future Jerusalem, with the conservation of its ancient walls, and with the revival of the art of glazing tiles for the famous roof of the 'Dome of the Rock' (Fig. 262). Prof. Garstang was already constituted adviser in archaeological matters. Both him and the Governor I was sorry to find away, but Mr. Ashbee shewed me his doings and plans. It was evident that nothing could be arranged at the moment, but it was not very long before the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem was founded, which has done such good work since, latterly in co-operation with the old-established Palestine Exploration Fund, but badly needs financial help. The Joint Archaeological Committee has also come into existence, to advise the Near Eastern administrations on archaeological matters.

261.—THE RESIDENCY, JERUSALEM, 1919

262.—THE DOME OF THE ROCK

I spent a week in Jerusalem, saw the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;

explored the *Ḥaram* and its mosques, over which watched Muslim Indian sentries posted in the court (Fig. 263); saw Bethlehem under the guard of British sentries (Fig. 264); and then returned to Egypt as I came, with an interlude of part of a day spent at Ludd, which was not, but seemed, hotter than anything I had experienced in 'Iraq—so hot that a tent was unbearable and, sun or no sun, one had to go out and walk to Ramleh and back for air. On this expedition the problem of how to get through cactus-hedges without damage presented itself to me as insoluble; but by devious ways I reached the Saracenic ruins which are so interesting on account of their resemblance to the West-European architecture of their period, a resemblance so close that they are often regarded by visitors as the ruins of a Christian abbey of the thirteenth century (Fig. 265).

263.—THE COURT OF THE *ḤARAM*

In Egypt again, at Cairo, I worked for a few days in the Museum and ran up to Luxor for a day or two to my old haunts at Dair al-baḥri (Fig. 266). 'Iraq had so inured me to heat that on 11 July I scrambled about the tomb-hill of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qūrnah, followed by the *kātib* (scribe) and dragoman of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Muḥammad Effendi Yahya, and the *ghafīrs* or watchmen, in a shade heat of 98°, which seemed little to me now, though poor Muḥammad perspired terribly and obviously considered me possessed. I thought it wiser not to try the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings this time, however!

264.—BRITISH SENTRIES AT THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM

It is well not to be *too* '*magnūn*'! What the heat might have been there I left to my imagination—and Muḥammad's.

Various notes were made and queries answered there and at Dair al-baḥri. The fine new Saite tomb that lately had been discovered and excavated in the Asasīf by the American archaeologist Mr. Lansing was visited and admired (Fig. 267). It is one of the finest examples of the period known, with its great pillared courtyard: the palatial resting-place of one of the local Theban nobles of the seventh century B.C. who loved to build themselves such tombs, with courtyards and halls in which the funerary offerings could be made, and entrances in the form of great pylons of bricks, two of which, belonging to the tomb of another great noble of the time, Pediamenopet, are characteristic features of the Asasīf, the low rocky tract that lies between the village of Qūrnah and the cirque of Dair al-baḥri.

265.—RAMLEH

266.—AT DAIR AL-BAḤRI, 1919: MUḤAMMAD EFFENDI AND *GHAFĪRS*

Then after a visit to Karnak to see the latest results of M. Legrain's conservation work and excavation in the great temple (Fig. 268), back to Cairo, when followed the usual interval in securing my military passage. For this purpose, as a Museum official, M. Pierre Lacau, the Director-General of the

Service of Antiquities, was pressed into service as a nominal superior to give me my authority to move, as the Savoy Hotel (G.H.Q., Egypt) demurred to any repetition of my independent Jerusalem procedure: I must find a superior officer somewhere, and M. Lacau kindly acted in that temporary capacity! And so to Port Said and embarkation for home.

There was no need of military escort now: we steamed into Taranto on 20 July, and I was dumped, with my much increased kit, in the rest-camp up the river, where I stayed till the 24th, waiting for a place on the daily military train. The camp was crowded with officers of all ranks and types, mostly demobilized, and all trying to get home. I was now up against the old difficulty of the discrepancy between my rank and the size of my kit, which had increased by at least one big box (made by Ibrahim 'Ali) since I had left Bombay on the outward journey, when I had added two or three items to the kit with which I left England. It was quite an impossible kit for a captain, but it all had to come back, and so I discovered that captains on and attached to the Indian Political Service had, if not the local rank, at any rate the privileges of field-officers, including the right to a bigger kit than usual and separate accommodation in camp. My venerable appearance and the mysterious legend 'British Museum' no doubt carried conviction to the minds of those in command (to whom I express my great gratitude), so I had my field-officer's lodging in camp and field-officer's accommodation in the train. I returned to Boulogne with a couple of lieutenant-colonels, having gone out with a couple of second-lieutenants.

267.—AL-ASASĪF, 1919

There had been no going down into Taranto this time. Italy seemed almost as jumpy as Egypt. Here also things were working up to a crisis, the Bolshevik excesses of 1920 and the Fascist revolution that suppressed

them. We kept to ourselves in Taranto and also in Faenza. Although all our faces were now turned towards home our camps and trains were not being brought to an end quickly enough to please many Italians, and there were many who longed to see the last of us. The clearing-up of the Great War did not move fast enough for others besides the Italians: our own men were not and could not be 'demobbed' fast enough for their liking: they saw others getting home before them and 'grabbing up all the jobs', though some must be first and some last: tempers were short in England as well as in Italy. All that is past and gone now, but it didn't improve matters that many 'B.O.R.s' employed in the camp were under the impression that we had annexed Taranto, and possibly had communicated that impression to their Tarentine acquaintances!

268.—KARNAK, 1919

We had five days in the crawling train, but with no incident except that we passed west of Paris and by St. Germain just about the time the Austrian peace treaty was being deliberated there. Many curious glances were directed towards the little town on the hill as we passed; and the only glimpse that many of those on the train, who had served in the East, ever got of fateful Versailles was the momentary one we had when the train crossed the great vista west of the Etoile Royale, on the Ceinture line to St. Germain.

At Boulogne Rest-camp my new-fangled privileges were ruthlessly curtailed. But it was the last lap, and it did not matter that this was the most unpleasant experience of the whole journey except, perhaps, Baṣrah on the way out. I was lucky when at last, on 1 August, we embarked, to get my kit all back to Dover in safety with the exception of one article, which contained, among other things, a few antîkahs picked up at

Baghdad and Bombay that I was sorry to lose. It remained behind in the camp, but repeated letters afterwards from London failed to retrieve it. I hope the things pleased some 'scrounger'! The distinction between *meum* and *tuum* was not much regarded in those far-off days of 'war-psychosis', and camp-authorities had too much to do to trouble about such individual losses, which had to be accepted as all in the day's work.

On 2 August, my demobilization being confirmed, uniform was finally doffed, and I took up my ordinary duties again at the British Museum. The antiquities from Ur arrived in September and were unpacked, bringing, as I have said, a whiff of more than 'Iraqi air and heat into the vaults of the British Museum, though probably without adding much that was new for long to the entomology of Bloomsbury. Then came, with many interruptions due to other official concerns, the slow work of the reconstitution of the trophies of al-'Ubaid. The lion-heads had suffered during the transport from Baṣrah, probably at the hands of Jamaican negro military stevedores like those I had seen hurling my kit about at Taranto. One, especially, was reduced to powder. Two were practically intact, but the others were more or less damaged and needing restoration, which they have received. As I have said, the Imdugud relief had suffered least of all: surprisingly little, in fact, on the journey: what was fragmentary in it had been found so. Its present restored state is the result of long and skilled work on the part of Mr. W. J. Beck, which I have mentioned above (p. 267). He is to be congratulated on the success of his work, which shews this unique object now restored to completion as it was when it was originally buried; I have already described it and indicated what is the original work intact in it, what is pieced together, and what has had to be restored completely.

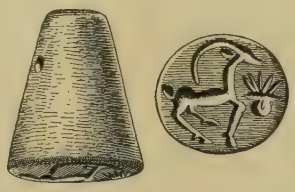
These objects from al-'Ubaid could only be repaired properly in London, and obviously would not bear any further journeying. Had they to be sent away again they would simply have tumbled to pieces on the way, and there was no means of restoring them again at Baghdad. So after full investigation and consideration of all the circumstances, their assignment to the British Museum by the authorities in 'Iraq was fully confirmed by the Colonial Office, and they were incorporated among the national treasures. In December, 1919, I read the first account of them

to the Society of Antiquaries, with a report on the whole excavation. This I have since supplemented by articles in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1921, 1922), which afforded me hospitality for this purpose on account of the lack of any English Assyriological publication of format suited for the reproduction of archaeological illustrations, and elsewhere.

My return to al-'Ubaid in the following year to complete the work there was prevented by the Mesopotamian Revolt, and then other causes delayed the resumption of the excavations till 1922–3, when they were begun again at Ur in accordance with the new scheme of co-operation with the Museum of the University of Philadelphia, under Mr. Woolley's direction. They were resumed and finished by him at al-'Ubaid in 1923–4. His discoveries and mine have been fully published in the volume *Al-'Ubaid*, the first of the general publication of the excavations, in 1927. This was written by us jointly, with the assistance of Mr. C. J. Gadd, and with a chapter by Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., on the craniology of the human remains found. Mr. Woolley superseded my first rough sketch-plan of al-'Ubaid, which had been made without the assistance of Mr. O'Sullivan, by a new plan of the whole building, which I have reproduced with his permission in this book. Mr. Gadd was associated with Mr. Woolley in the excavation of 1923–4, as Mr. Sidney Smith had been in that at Ur alone in the preceding year. Mr. Woolley has published two short popular books on Ur and the general problems of Sumerian archaeology: *The Sumerians* (1927), and *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929); and Mr. Gadd his work *The History and Monuments of Ur* (1929). I have in Chapter III sketched the great results of Mr. Woolley's seven seasons at Ur, which he will publish *in extenso* later. The excavation of Abu Shahrain has not been resumed, nor does it seem probable that it can be resumed in the immediate future. Ur alone will give full occupation for some time to come to the expedition. The temple complex has been almost completely unearthed and its buildings identified, but the mounds south-east of it remain to be dug. What they contain is the secret of the future. What has been found is more than ample justification of the policy of the British Museum in excavating Ur, initiated by its Director, Sir Frederic Kenyon, when I was sent out in place of Prof. King to continue the excavation of Captain Thompson at Ur, if advisable, and, if not, elsewhere. That it was advisable to

excavate Ur and its neighbourhood the sequel has proved, but though al-'Ubaid had shewn that it would yield epoch-making discoveries, none could have foreseen the finding of the wonderful treasures of early Sumerian civilization and art that Mr. Woolley has in the last two seasons discovered in the ancient Temple of the Moon.

269.—SMALL COPPER LION-HEAD—SUMERIAN: UR.

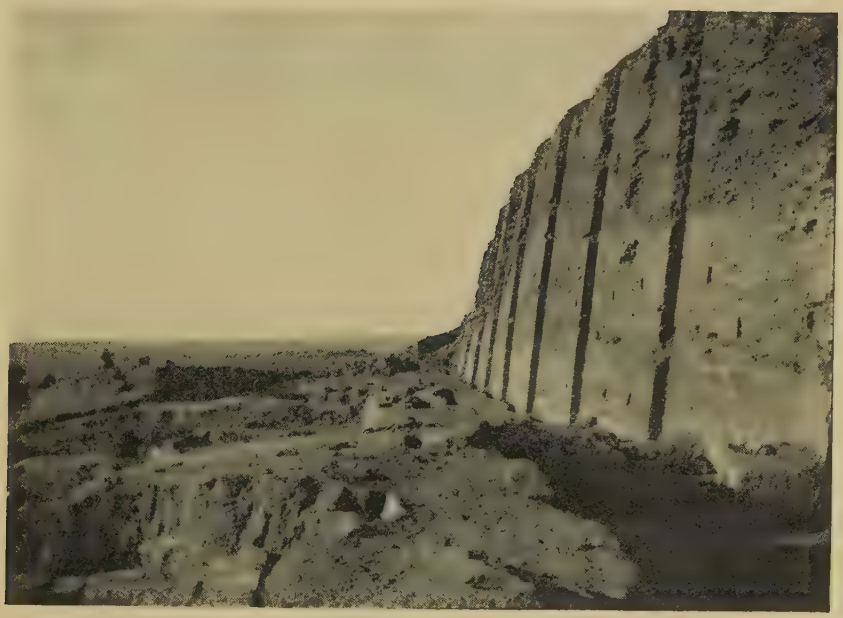


270.—CONICAL STEATITE SEAL OF SYRIAN TYPE: UR.

NOTE

Subscriptions and Donations for the work at Ur should be sent to the Director of the British Museum, Sir F. G. Kenyon, G.B.E., at the Museum. Financial support is much needed for the establishment of the British School of Archaeology in 'Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial), which is being founded in memory of Miss Bell and her work. The Hon. Secretary, Sir E. Bonham-Carter, K.C.M.G., will be glad to give information on the subject, and to receive contributions, which should be sent to 17 Radnor Place, London, W.2. Help for the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School at Jerusalem should be sent to the respective Secretaries, both at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.; for that of the Egypt Exploration Society to the Secretary, at 13 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

271.—THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON



272.—S.W. FACE OF THE UR ZIGGURRAT AFTER WOOLLEY'S EXCAVATION: 1924

273.—'THE GHOST OF THE TRIPLE STAIRWAY'—N.E. FACE OF THE UR ZIGGURRAT BEFORE EXCAVATION: 1923–4

274.—THE TRIPLE STAIRWAY—N.E. FACE OF THE UR ZIGGURRAT AFTER EXCAVATION: 1924

275.—THE STONE WALL OF ERIDU AND TAYLOR'S 'BASTION': SHAHRAIN

276.—DHAFIR DIGGERS EXCAVATING AT SHAHRAIN, 1919: LOOKING S.W.

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